

INLAND



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Water Against Land

By ROWLEY MURPHY

AS THIS IS WRITTEN (September 20th, 1947) my home facing Lake Ontario is being soaked with spray driven by a thirty mile easterly wind as predicted by the United States Weather Bureau, and broadcast by station WBEN, Buffalo.

About 160 miles east of Toronto the little ripples coming off shore at Watertown and Oswego are steadily increasing in the fresh east wind, and when they pass Peter Rock Lighthouse between Cobourg and Port Hope, they are respectable Lake Ontario seas. By the time they reach Toronto they are often about twelve to fifteen feet from trough to crest and frequently come green right over our inadequate breakwater on Toronto's Island shore and break in my front yard. The force of solid water smashing against solid and smooth concrete, which makes a bad type of breakwater, shakes the whole Island shore to such a degree that dishes are rattling and pictures are askew on the walls, with more serious damage to gas, water and drain pipes. It is just as though a depth charge were let go about every fifteen seconds.

After these seas break they roll right across the Island shore from two to three feet deep, sweeping light poles, fences, walks, trees, small summer houses, breakwater seats, stones, boats and canoes, garbage cans and general wreckage before them, and finally flow into the Island Lagoons about 200 feet north. Of the many homes visible from my windows, there is not one which is not surrounded by swiftly flowing water, so that the damage in this small area in this really moderate blow, has been great.

The Toronto *Evening Telegram* of September 20th, 1947 says:

Residents of Ward's Island were warned today to be careful of fire—flood conditions have washed out the sidewalk between Centre and Ward's and left the eastern end of Toronto Island without adequate fire protection.

Lake water, washing across the island with the force of today's stiff easterly behind it, has undermined and washed out the sidewalk at Chippewa Ave., and Cibola, which lies on the only route which the Island fire truck can use. As a result, only the fire-fighting tug could be used if fire should strike on Ward's.

Stiff easterly winds driving heavy seas over the lakefront breakwater on Ward's and Centre Islands have caused the year's worst flood, residents say. Hanlan's Point has not been affected, but Ward's and Centre lie right in the path of the easterly.

Water two feet deep is covering sidewalks and front yards all along the Island shore, and one resident is worried about logs floating about in the front of his house.

With no sign of the wind easing, Islanders fear they are in for a long "siege" of high waters. . . .

The cause of this damage, as many do not know, lies of course in the highest lake levels known for this date, which in turn are due to the artificial raising of all Great Lakes' levels by the water diversion of the Ontario Hydro Electric Power Commission as related in the *Ogoki Saga*.*

The picture of local conditions just mentioned will be familiar to residents on the shores of the Great Lakes, especially Lakes Erie and Ontario. The high lake level, when driven by easterly winds, raises a sea which does continual damage to the north shore of Lake Ontario from about Cobourg west to Hamilton. Similarly west and northwest winds have created a sea which has smashed and pounded the American coast at the easterly end of the lake, while southwesterers give it to Kingston and Cape Vincent in no uncertain terms. Toronto has not suffered to any greater degree than many other points on both sides of Lake Ontario.

It is a matter of common knowledge to those living on the shores of the Great Lakes, that water levels rise in the spring, reaching maximum height about the middle of June, and then recede in the fall, with sometimes a difference of two to four feet between the highest and lowest level. This has been an excellent provision of Nature which ensures less damage to shore lines in vicious winter gales.

In addition there has also been the gradual rise and fall of lake levels over a period of approximately seven to ten years, giving a high water year or years at one end of this irregular period, and low water years at the other. This action of the water of the Great Lakes seems almost like that of a tide, only it covers a period of years rather than of hours. It has never been very well explained, except that in some very low water years in the past, Toronto found it convenient to refer to the Chicago drainage canal as a cause.

* See INLAND SEAS, Spring 1948, pp. 15-21.

In his excellent report on *The Falls of Niagara* (which contains much material of great interest regarding the lower lakes) J. W. Spencer, M.A., Ph.D., F.G.S., gives the heights (mean) of Lake Ontario above sea level at Toronto as ranging from 246.68 in 1854 to 245.91 in 1905.¹ The lowest (mean) level in this period was 243.81 in 1893, and the highest was 247.40 in 1858, when Toronto peninsula was washed through, and the beginning of the present eastern gap created the island. The general average over the time mentioned would be about 245 feet above sea level. On June 23rd, 1947 the highest level of Lake Ontario ever recorded by the Toronto Harbour Commission was 249.4 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches above mean Atlantic tide level at New York.

Now the former "normal" fluctuating conditions are quite changed and we have nothing but high or higher lake levels; so with the approach of winter gales owners and residents near the shores of the lower lakes are naturally alarmed for the safety of their property. Practically all types of construction were built to accommodate themselves to the former lake levels. Now with the artificial raising of the lakes many buildings and docks have been destroyed, others are so badly awash as to be useless, and a great quantity of valuable land has been lost forever.

The Toronto *Daily Star* of Monday, December 3rd, 1945 says:

The serious damage to homes, summer resorts and wharves resulting from high lake levels and winter storms and the danger that more serious losses will be occasioned by floods in the great lakes basin next summer present municipal, provincial and federal authorities with perplexing problems that demand immediate attention. Basically, the principal problems concern municipal and federal authorities. The province is drawn into the matter only because the Ontario Hydro has diverted the waters of the Ogoki river into the great lakes by reversing the flow of the river which naturally went into Hudson's Bay, and has diverted Long Lac water by similar action, and also has increased the diversion of water through the Welland canal for the purposes of the Decew Falls power plant. The effect of those diversions probably is exaggerated by unscientific persons, but when every inch of rise in water levels worries property owners, the authorities have to consider the matter from that angle as well as on broader grounds.

Whether the lower lakes would be at record high levels even if the Ogoki river had not been reversed, is a question not easily answered. The "experts" are disposed to give an affirmative answer. Other citizens who are familiar with the rise and fall of Lake Ontario are not so sure. They point out that a succession of years of high water, with flood conditions in many places, such as we are witnessing is unprecedented; that following a year of high water the lake levels always subsided gradually until three years ago when the water of the Ogoki began to reach the Great Lakes system. The quantity of Ogoki

1. *The Falls of Niagara*. Ottawa, 1907, p. 239.

water diverted, unless it has been increased without public notice, is about 4,000 cubic feet per second, to which must be added about 1,100 cubic feet of water per second from Long Lac. These two diversions, according to scientific calculations, would not affect the level of Lake Ontario by more than three inches. They permit Canada to develop 90,000 h.p. more electricity near Fort William, 10,000 h.p. at the Soo, 150,000 h.p. at Niagara, 90,000 h.p. on the St. Lawrence and 20,000 h.p. elsewhere, a total of 360,000 h.p. Water poured into Lake Superior from the Ogoki and Long Lac spreads out over the vast areas of Lake Huron and Michigan. Similar quantities of water poured into Lake Ontario have a great effect on water levels. Two years ago the Hydro increased its diversion through the Welland canal for the new Decew plant, which now produces 65,000 h.p., and expects to increase its capacity to 140,000 h.p.

Abnormal precipitation this year and abnormally low evaporation largely account for the failure of Lake Ontario to drop sharply after mid-summer in the customary manner. Unless the snowfall this winter is exceptionally small, flood conditions around the great lakes basin next year may be the worst ever. . . .

The great lakes are a series of filters whose surplus waters flow slowly through narrow channels from level to level. Regulation gates and weirs can do something to alter the natural level but apparently not to the extent that the public imagines. Control that benefits the people around one lake may be detrimental to those around another lake and along the St. Lawrence. The interests of power, navigation and landowners are not identical. The responsibility rests on the federal authorities to harmonize conflicting viewpoints and do all that is humanly possible to prevent hardships and material loss from storms and floods.

The artificial raising of Great Lake levels was, of course, a matter of mutual agreement between the American and Canadian Federal Governments, and was effected by an exchange of notes signed on October 14th and 31st, and November 7th, 1940. As a war-time measure for increasing the production of the Canadian and American war effort, this agreement was given little or no publicity; of which policy, if it was considered necessary, there should be no criticism.

It was mentioned about two years ago that a rise of from two to three inches would be the only change in the height of Lake Ontario above the former average. This point is confirmed in the *Star* editorial. Instead, the *minimum* increase has been two feet, which would seem to show serious miscalculation on the part of those responsible for water diversion and is therefore open to great criticism.

Americans and Canadians living on the shores of Lake Ontario may agree that damages there have been greater than on any other of the lakes, due to the recent entry of an additional quantity of water. The Niagara River and tributaries, the Welland Canal and feeders have been joined by the new Decew power canal to permit more water than

ever before to flow into Lake Ontario. At least, more water than in any recorded history, as this new Decew powerhouse is located on the east side of the old Erigan Channel, by which the waters of Lake Erie and the upper lake entered Lake Ontario long before the white man used Hydro power. This Erigan Channel was of great size and is shown on page 415 of *The Falls of Niagara* by J. W. Spencer.

The *Toronto Globe and Mail* of September 27th, 1947 carries pictures and story of the official opening of this newest Decew power unit, which has a most impressive sound of progress. Unfortunately, residents on or near the shores of Lake Ontario view with alarm this additional source of water and its inevitable damage to property.

The flatteringly progressive attitude of the *Globe and Mail's* article might be contrasted with the following from the same paper of October 9th, 1947:

The acute problems created by erosion of lakefront property were discussed last night by representatives of shoreline municipalities extending from Burlington on the west to Scarboro on the east. They met at City Hall to tabulate evidence which will ultimately be presented to Federal and Provincial authorities with a request for action.

It was agreed by all municipal representatives that the problems of erosion were more serious today than at any previous time, due largely to the high water level of Lake Ontario. Immediate steps must be taken, it was stated, to halt the destruction of land. Represented at last night's meeting were Burlington, Oakville, Toronto Township, Port Credit, Long Branch, New Toronto, Mimico, City of Toronto, and Scarboro.

and with an editorial from the *Evening Telegram* of October 18th, 1947:

Residents living on the lake front east of the city limits and between the Humber river and Oakville have at their doorsteps a demonstration of the way water and weather altered the face of the earth through the ages. They are witnessing a constant change in the shoreline. The action of the waves and the currents set up by the effluent of the Niagara river gnaw at the clay and shale footings of Scarboro bluffs causing the heavy overburden to slip into the lake where it is washed away. West of Toronto the level of the terrain is only a few feet higher than the lake level and at some points the water is literally washing the earth from the roots of the trees and the foundations of houses.

Members of Parliament representing constituencies in the affected areas have urged the Dominion department of Public Works to undertake protective action.

Comments from members of local municipalities east and west of Toronto make it apparent that the situation is extremely serious. In Toronto the worst damage has been received on the south shore of Toronto Island, which forms the southern and western boundary of

the harbour, though the high lake level has made drainage from the entire Island almost non-existent.

The Island is L-shaped, with the long side of about $2\frac{1}{3}$ miles bearing roughly N.E. or S.W. and the shorter portion of about $1\frac{2}{3}$ miles lying about N.N.W. or S.S.E. Inside the large main island, which for convenience is divided into three sections called Hanlan's Point, Centre Island and Ward's Island, there are fifteen smaller ones of widely assorted sizes, of which all but five are used for residential purposes. The others are used for parks, yacht club houses and yards or the island filtration plant etc.

The properties which are seriously endangered, or which are rendered inaccessible, or only inconvenienced by the highest known level of Lake Ontario consist of over 700 private homes for summer or permanent use; five club houses; two hotels; twenty-three shops and other places of business; an airport; an indispensable filtration plant which purifies Toronto's water; parks greatly valued by Toronto citizens; police and fire stations; three churches; a Red Cross Outpost and a public school. A total evaluation of these essential properties, exclusive of the parks, is approximately \$4,715,000.

The annual taxes taken by the city from the island naturally fluctuate in amount, but a recent possible figure might be \$110,000.

The protection given the island should be mentioned. The west shore is quite unprotected, while on the south shore, where about half of the properties listed including the filtration plant are located, there is only a very inadequate and low concrete breakwater of a length of $\frac{3}{4}$ mile starting about 800 feet west of the eastern gap piers, with a western extension of rough stone, but leaving a little less than half of the south shore quite unprotected.

Built in relation to the old lake levels before 1943, its chief value now is to help bind the shore together, or for a promenade. As with present lake levels Lake Ontario frequently breaks entirely over it, it is about useless in keeping out water.

As will be readily understood, the area of visible but not dry, land of the Island has been reduced about 20 per cent and there has been no part of the Island which has not been menaced, or slightly or very seriously damaged from water diversion "up above," as lower lakers call the upper lakes.

As practically all protection against present high lake levels has been left to individual property owners or lease holders, these tried and patient sufferers received a shock of pleasure on reading in the *Toronto Evening Telegram* of June 28, 1947 the report of a pertinent debate in the House of Commons. Mr. John R. MacNicol, Progressive Conservative member for Davenport, an authority on watershores, demanded appropriate government action to halt the extensive damages being done by high waters. He also stated that he had advised Mayor Saunders of Toronto to take action against the federal authorities for Island damages. Mr. MacNicol's protest, says the *Telegram*, at least succeeded in placing the problem squarely before the house.

Frank Lennard (P. C. Wentworth) added that the great Niagara fruit belt was gradually being eaten away by the high waters and would be washed out of existence if present conditions continue to prevail.

Mr. Alphonse Fournier, the Minister of Public Works, said he was most sympathetic; but in reply to Mr. Lennard's statement that the high waters were being caused to a great extent by the artificial flow of additional water into the Great Lakes System, he replied, "That is a matter of opinion," says the *Telegram*.

Unfortunately, Mr. Fournier's final word rather spoils the impression of any immediate action being contemplated.

Therefore we try another angle, but find that insurance against property damage on Toronto Island caused by high lake levels is impossible to obtain, according to insurance brokers who have been consulted.

From the mass of published protest and criticism examined and property owners interviewed, it is evident that Canadian governing bodies, civic or federal, will do nothing tangible to give protection to land and properties against the high lake levels.

It seems obvious therefore, that individuals resident on the shores of the lower lakes must provide their own protection; which, as anyone familiar with the local situation at any point of damage on Lakes Erie and Ontario knows, is quite impossible. It is a matter for federal, provincial or civic action and expense altogether.

The formation of an international association for mutual protection and assistance would provide an effective channel for giving the widest possible publicity to the very great damage that most com-

munities or properties of private citizens in the areas mentioned, have received.

The need for increased electrical power is unquestioned, but the diversion of lakes or other waters to produce this power is a matter for the concern of all Great Lakes residents. Readers of INLAND SEAS, some of whom have great interests or properties on the shores of the lower lakes, should be ideal material for the nucleus of this suggested international association for Great Lakes water level control. On Lake Ontario our excellent Lake Yacht Racing Association, which is quite international, functions very successfully for the direction and control of yachting events. We feel that a similar association would be very effective for the control of an international matter of much greater importance.

The waters that have been diverted in the past five years can at least be controlled, and must be, as there is no assurance that lake levels will not continue to rise. This is a good possibility and an actual probability, until water leaves Lake Ontario in a relative quantity to that which enters it. To date, no such provision appears to have been considered or made at the east end of the Great Lakes system.

The story of progress of the Ontario Hydro Electric Power Commission is most impressive until the cost is examined. Not the cost for construction, but the cost in damages to the properties and assets of firms, corporations, associations, clubs, landowners, right down to the 50 x 200 ft. on which stands the home of the writer! If the cost of personal property damage is multiplied by that of thousands of others, particularly on Lakes Erie and Ontario, the total for losses and damage reaches a tremendous figure.

As the production of additional electric power appears to have been carried out with no concern whatever for vested rights on the shores of the Great Lakes, it may be fitting to end on a note of absurdity. Several times this past summer, we have seen the amusing spectacle of Hydro power used to operate one of the pumps used by Centre Island business men in an effort to make it possible for shoppers to leave boats at home, but to substitute rubber boots instead. The hydro power ran the pump to reduce the floods caused by high water made by the Hydro as a thoughtless by-product in producing additional hydro power!

The Ships that Made Milwaukee Famous*

By REV. EDWARD J. DOWLING, S.J.

KNOWING WHAT WE DO of the traits of nations and of people it is interesting to learn that the city of Milwaukee, today a staid and conservative metropolis whose population is largely of German and Irish extraction, should have been founded by a Frenchman and a Scot, and that the first ship to enter its spacious harbor was a British man-of-war.

The first white men to visit the scene of our story were Father James Marquette, the Jesuit missionary, and his companion and guide Louis Joliet. This was in 1673. In early documents there appear several variations of the present name of the city. One early reference, in the Jesuit Relations in 1679, gives the name "Melleoki," an Indian word, which, translated, means "the beautiful place." Twenty years later the locality is again referred to as "Milwarik."

In 1760 the harbor and the settlement beside it were visited by Alexander Henry, the English trader, and in 1779 H. M. sloop *Felicity* anchored off the town.

The father of modern Milwaukee was the French-Canadian trader, Laurent Solomon Juneau, who had settled there in 1818, and in the following years came to be a leading citizen among the population, then largely French. The French village, lying east of the Milwaukee River, came to be known as "Juneautown." In the early Thirties another settlement, lying west of the river, arose, and was composed mostly of English-speaking people, whose leader was one Byron Kilbourne. There was at one time also a smaller third settlement lying south of the river, known as Walker's Point. There was very keen rivalry, and at times not a little bitter, between the citizens of "Juneau-

* A paper read before the Marine Historical Society of Detroit, March 31, 1948. The writer wishes to express his gratitude to Mr. Harry C. Brockel of Milwaukee, Mr. William A. McDonald of Detroit, and The Rev. Canon F. C. St. Clair of Manitowoc, for their assistance.

town" and their neighbors to the west from "Kilbournetown." There were no bridges over the river for many years, so great was the mutual aloofness between the two villages. "Juneautown" was laid out in typical French style, with wide streets and long blocks, while "Kilbournetown," like its Scottish leader, had narrow streets and short blocks. When in later years the City of Milwaukee, incorporated in 1845 and comprising all three original villages, wanted to bridge the river, the irregularity of the street-intersections presented some interesting engineering problems to the bridge builders. To this day many of the city's bridges cross the river at odd angles.

The city grew fast and early became a lake port of note. In this period, the middle of the last century, Milwaukee's national atmosphere changed quickly and completely. Within two decades of the city's incorporation, its French-Scottish aspect was entirely supplanted by an equally nationalistic German and Irish air. From Germany in particular large groups of immigrants came to Wisconsin's fertile lands, especially to Milwaukee. By the middle seventies Milwaukee was a cultured, civilized center, known to the world as the "German Athens of America." There was also a very large group of Irish in what is now downtown Milwaukee, the old Third Ward. Today representatives of these two nationalities will be found among the old names of the city's residents, in proportions far outweighing any other national groups.

In Milwaukee, where it was said that were one to have walked its streets in the eighties or thereabouts, he could scarcely have believed that he was not back in Berlin or Munich, the German ascendancy was obvious. The Irish group too was always large, though after the sinking of the *Lady Elgin* in 1860, whose three hundred casualties were all from Milwaukee's Irish colony, they were inferior in numbers and influence to the Germans. And like the incidents in the days of the French and Scottish villages half a century before, there was rivalry, as always, between the Germans and the Irish.

The story of Milwaukee's ships is to a great extent a memorial to the achievements of two men, whose names, now almost forgotten, were once known from one end of the lakes to the other. These men were Nathaniel Engelmann and Edward G. Crosby.

The first regular cross-lake ship service out of Milwaukee dates back to 1849 when the Ward-owned sidewheeler *Champion* maintained a line to Grand Haven and other Michigan settlements. Grand Haven

is directly east of Milwaukee, at a point where Lake Michigan is some seventy miles wide. A second vessel, the *Telegraph*, was added in 1851, and these two carried on until 1858. During these years The Detroit and Milwaukee Railway was working its way westward, and by 1858 had been built into Grand Rapids, which at that time could be reached by small vessels sailing up the Grand River from its mouth at what is now known as Grand Haven. The railroad now began to operate its own trans-Lake Michigan line, with the chartered propellers *Forrester*, *Michigan* and *Cleveland*. In 1859 the large sidewheeler, the first *City of Cleveland*, was on this service. These four ships were used in the summer only. During the winters of '58 and '59 the sturdier package freighters, *Cuyahoga*, *Gov. Cushman* and *S. D. Caldwell*, operated. Their cargoes included mostly lumber from Michigan, along with grain and manufactured goods from the east, and passengers.

Late in 1859 there arrived new from the Buffalo shipyards of Mason and Bidwell, the large sidewheelers *Detroit* and *Milwaukee*, ponderous hulls of 1039 tons, measuring 239 x 34 x 13. They were the only vessels on the lakes built on the lines of the ocean liners of that day. They had high straight sides, with little or no overhang, and had only one stack. They resembled very much the ships of the old Collins Line or the early Cunarders. These two ships carried the line until 1868. In that year the *Milwaukee* ran aground on the treacherous Grand Haven bar, and was eventually reduced to a total wreck. There was fortunately no loss of life. The chartered package freight steamer *City of Fremont* took her place for the remainder of the season.

Meanwhile Milwaukee was growing. Other cities of importance sprang up in Wisconsin, notably Racine, 25 miles southward, now the state's second city. Racine's early inhabitants were made up of Irish, Welsh and Danish immigrants. It was in the sixties that a son of Irish immigrants began a career that would connect his name with Racine even to our own time. As a young man, Jeremiah Casey set up a wagon repair shop, and later built wagons, and still later farming machinery, such as it was in those days. With success and wealth, so the legend goes, he went "high hat," and much to the displeasure of his compatriots from Erin, changed his name from Jeremiah Casey to J. I. Case. To-day, the name of Racine is found in every agricultural country in the world on Case plows and threshing machines.

In 1869, the year after the loss of the *Milwaukee*, the D. & M. Railroad entered into a contract with Nathaniel Engelmann, a prominent Milwaukee lumberman and ship operator, to manage their line. Engelmann had risen to a position of influence in the lumber trade and had operated a fleet of lumber ships under the name of Engelmann Transportation Company. This line was then operating several sailing vessels, and four combination freight and passenger steamers, all screw driven, the *J. Barber*, *Bell*, *Messenger* and *Manistee*. Besides the cross-lake service out of Milwaukee, Engelmann had operated an east shore line, running all the way from St. Joseph and Benton Harbor to ports on Grand Traverse Bay. When he took over the railroad contract he placed his largest vessel, the *Manistee*, on the route, along with the *Detroit*. Near the end of the year 1869 Engelmann purchased from Ward's Lake Superior Line the large propellor-driven sister vessels *Lac La Belle* and *Ironsides*. In the same year or the next he sold the big sidewheeler *Detroit* to Messrs. Campbell and Owen of Detroit, who removed the vessel's engines and converted the hull into a barge. It is interesting to note that during her ten years on Lake Michigan, the *Detroit* crossed this lake 2752 times without loss or injury to life, or any other serious accident. Few living persons ever saw this fine vessel, in fact even good pictures of it are rare, but many have sailed on the ship which eventually received her engines. Campbell and Owen stored her engines when they cut down the ship in 1870, but in 1876 or thereabouts the D. & C. liner *Northwest* needed a rebuild and new engines. So the *Detroit's* engines were uncrated and placed in the *Northwest*. She became the first *Greyhound* in 1885, and in due time was replaced by the steel *Greyhound*, which received the older vessel's engines, which had come from the *Detroit*. The second *Greyhound* ran until the thirties, which gives something close to seventy years of service for the engines.

The Lake Michigan service was carried on in the early 70's by the *Ironsides*, *Manistee*, *Lac La Belle*, and the sidewheeler *Metropolis*, built at Trenton, Michigan in 1868. In 1871, the propellor *J. Barber* was exchanged for Capt. Dustin's sidewheeler *City of Toledo*. In 1872 the *Messenger* was chartered by James F. Joy to operate between Sheboygan, Wisconsin and Pentwater, Michigan. On the night of October 13th of that year the *Lac La Belle* cleared Milwaukee for her usual trip to

Grand Haven. Near midnight a gale arose, and the ship's seams opened. She turned about and made for Milwaukee at full speed, but had gone only about ten miles when the rising water in her hold put out the fires, and she lost steerage and sunk. Six of the crew who were too terrified to get into the lifeboats were lost. The passengers and the remainder of the crew, however, rode out the storm in the boats and were picked up by passing craft the next morning. Engelmann then bought the propellor *City of Fremont* from Captain James Pridgeon, to replace the lost vessel.

About this time, 1872, the Chicago and North Western Railroad was operating the Green Bay Transit Company, which had two large sidewheelers, the *Saginaw*, built in 1866 at Marine City, and the *George L. Dunlop*, built in 1864 at Fort Howard, now Green Bay. This line discontinued service in the early seventies and the two ships were bought by Engelmann. In 1873 Engelmann made plans for building a large vessel for his cross-lake line, and in anticipation sold both the *Manistee* and *City of Fremont*. However, before the new ship had arrived the line suffered another heavy loss in the wreck of the *Ironsides* on Grand Haven Bar, September 15, 1873, with the loss of twenty-one lives. Ten days later the line bought the steam barge *Jacob Bertschy*, 467 tons. The new vessel, the *Minneapolis*, arrived from Marine City in December, a fine ship of 1072 tons, 226 feet long, very beautifully decorated. The *Amazon*, still larger, 1496 tons, was chartered from the Northwestern Transportation Company of Detroit. This ship was also a fine vessel for the time, having twin screws and twin rudders, four masts, and cabins the entire length of her upper deck.

In 1875 Engelmann brought out another vessel whose name is still familiar to Detroiters. This was the *Flora*, a sidewheeler completed at the Wolf and Davidson Yards in Milwaukee, late in 1874. The *Flora* had a long career all over the Lakes, and is probably best remembered for her services in Grummond's Mackinac Line in the nineties. Still later, however, she became the *Urania*, one of the first ships in the Western Reserve Navigation Company's line between Cleveland and Ontario ports.

About this time Engelmann sold the sidewheeler *Metropolis* to Messrs. Culver and others of Duluth, the same group who had bought the *Manistee* a few years before. These two ships ran for many years afterwards on Lake Superior. Eventually the *Manistee* was cut down

to a steam barge for the lumber trade, and the *Metropolis* ended her days running excursion out of Toledo. She was destroyed by fire at Toledo in 1902.

On March 6th, 1875, another Engelmann ship left the line, to make steamship history elsewhere on Lake Michigan. Messrs. John Graham and Andrew Crawford of St. Joseph, and Mr. J. Stanley Morton of Chicago purchased the *Messenger* for passenger and fruit transportation, St. Joseph to Chicago. Thus began one of Chicago's most affectionately remembered steamship lines, the Graham and Morton Transportation Company — "The Dustless Road to Happyland."

Engelmann, now well along in years, sold his fleet and his contract with the Detroit, Grand Haven and Milwaukee Railroad to the Northwestern Transportation Company, whose chief stockholders were R. J. Hackett and E. M. Peck of Cleveland. Engelmann collected the neat sum of \$300,000 on the deal, and for the moment appears to have retired. However, a few years later he bought back the controlling stock in the Northwestern Company. With the entrance of the Cleveland interests, several of their ships, formerly operated on other routes, made their appearance on the Milwaukee-Grand Haven line. These were the freighters *R. J. Hackett*, *Forest City*, and *Burlington*. In 1877 the *Flora* was sold to Detroit buyers, and replaced by the converted revenue cutter *John A. Dix*.

On October 29th, 1879 the *Amazon* grounded on Grand Haven Bar, and after freeing herself once, struck again and freed herself a second time, but lost headway and was driven ashore, where she was completely wrecked. All aboard were rescued by the life saving crew. The chartered Goodrich steamer *G. J. Truesdell* replaced her.

In 1880 there arose some differences between the Northwestern Transportation Company and the Detroit, Grand Haven and Milwaukee Railroad, which led to the termination of the steamship company's contract. The contract was then awarded to Captain Albert E. Goodrich¹ of Chicago, who immediately placed the propellers *Depere*, *Menominee*, and *City of Ludington* on this route, and ordered three new steamers, all of iron construction. These were the propellers *Wisconsin* and *Michigan*, primarily freighters, but with some cabins, and built for year around service, and the palatial sidewheeler *City of*

1. See *The Goodrich Line* by R. G. Plumb (INLAND SEAS, April 1945, pp. 18-24).

Milwaukee, designed by Frank E. Kirby. These vessels went into service in 1881, giving Goodrich two new routes, Milwaukee to Grand Haven, connecting there with the railroad to Detroit mentioned above, and Milwaukee to Ludington, connecting with the Flint and Pere Marquette Railroad. A few years later, however, Goodrich lost the Ludington route, and was forced to sell his three new iron ships, all of which were bought by the Detroit, Grand Haven and Milwaukee Railroad, which from then on operated its own ship line.

Meanwhile, Milwaukee's influence was continuing to grow. Other nearby cities grew with her. Fifty miles to the north a colony of German immigrants had established the city of Sheboygan. At Sheboygan the father of a family together with his five sons went into the coal business. They built their first coal dock at Sheboygan, and later others at Manitowoc and Escanaba. Famous Lake ships of the eighties and nineties came to these docks with coal from Lake Erie. Before long the Reiss Brothers were in the ship business also.

The *Michigan* was sunk in the ice off Grand Haven in 1885. The *Wisconsin* and *City of Milwaukee* continued on the cross-lake line until the middle nineties when the latter was sold to the Graham and Morton Transportation Company of Chicago, and the *Wisconsin* was sold to E. G. Crosby of Muskegon, later Milwaukee. Crosby is the second well known name in Milwaukee's marine history. He operated the *Wisconsin*, shortly afterward to be renamed *Naomi*, and the larger wooden propeller *Nyack*, which he bought from Erie Railroad's Union Steamship Line, on cross-lake night service, calling at both Muskegon and Grand Haven.

During the late nineties Crosby also had a controlling interest in the Lake Michigan Car Ferry Transportation Company, which operated four barge ferries, along the Illinois and Wisconsin shore from South Chicago to Sturgeon Bay. This line's ferries bore the numbers one to four, and were towed by large tugs, one of which was named *E. G. Crosby*. This venture was not too successful and was finally abandoned. Crosby nevertheless persevered in his interest in car ferries, and determined to run a cross-lake ferry. In 1903 he ordered the 325 foot steel hulled twin screw *Grand Haven* from the Craig yards in Toledo. This line enjoyed more success, and was eventually taken over by the Grand Trunk Western Railway and still continues.

In 1907 the *Naomi* was badly damaged by fire in mid lake on May 21st, while under the command of Captain Robert McKay. The vessel's wooden upper works burned furiously, and for a while it appeared that all on board were doomed. However the bulk freighter *S. S. Curry* of the Hawgood Line came to the rescue and managed to push her bow up against the stern of the burning ship, and all but five aboard the *Naomi* were saved. Though taken in tow the *Naomi* burned for hours until her entire superstructure fell in a mass of twisted shambles on her iron main deck. Her place on the line was taken for the remainder of that year by the Chicago steamship *Illinois*, and in 1908 by the *Pere Marquette 5*, and in 1909 by the *Manistee* (the second of that name). The *Naomi's* reconstruction, with an all steel upper works, was completed in 1909, and she was renamed *E. G. Crosby*.

The *Nyack* and *E. G. Crosby* continued the service until 1915, when the former was completely destroyed by fire while undergoing alterations at Muskegon. She was replaced first by the *United States*, leased from the Indiana Transportation Company of Chicago, and later by the *Holland* (formerly *City of Milwaukee*) purchased from the Graham and Morton Line. This big sidewheeler was renamed *Muskegon* on August 14th, 1919. She was wrecked on the Muskegon pierheads on October 28th of that year, with the loss of 29 lives. Her place was taken by the former Goodrich ship *Georgia*.

During almost the entire history of the Crosby Line there had been regular freight service across the lake. The first freighter of the fleet was the *John V. Moran*, in 1898 and 1899. This vessel was followed in 1906 by the *Conestoga*, an old Anchor Liner. The *Mobawk* and *Thomas Davidson* were acquired in 1916, and the *Lakeland* in 1918 or 1919.

In 1912 Crosby visited a number of European shipyards and prominent steamship executives. On his return to America he was invited by Mr. Bruce Ismay to sail as his guest on England's newest and finest transatlantic liner, thought then to be the ship unsinkable. The *Titanic* cleared Southampton on her maiden voyage on April 12, 1912. We all know the rest of her unfortunate story. She struck an iceberg on the night of the 14th while running at full speed, and despite all efforts, began slowly to sink. When the last lifeboat pulled away, and all rafts had been loaded, there were still 1500 people on her slanting decks. Before the nearest rescue craft, the Cunard Line steamer *Carpathia*

reached her, she went down. Of the 2206 people on board only 703 in boats and on rafts and floating wreckage were picked up when the *Carpathia* steamed onto the scene the next morning. Mr. Crosby was one of those who lost their lives. Because of his advanced age he was offered a place in a lifeboat, but had refused to get in.

His son, F. G. Crosby, took charge of the line. Shortly before the loss of the *Muskegon*, the *E. G. Crosby* had been taken over by the United States Shipping Board for war duty, and served as the hospital ship, *General Robert M. O'Reilly*. When she returned to the lakes after the war she was not bought back by the Crosby Line. In 1922 they bought the *City of Miami*, a Toledo-built excursion steamer, well known before the war to Chicagoans as the *City of South Haven*, the "White Flyer" of Lake Michigan. This ship was placed on the Milwaukee-Muskegon run and renamed *E. G. Crosby*. About this time the line came to be known as the Wisconsin and Michigan Transportation Company. There was competition on the route during the year 1925 when the Peninsular and Northern Line operated the steamers *United States* and *Arizona*. In 1927 the *Missouri* was in the Crosby Line, and three years later the *Illinois* came on the scene and the *E. G. Crosby* was taken off. In the middle thirties a merger was effected between the Wisconsin and Michigan Transportation Company and the Pere Marquette Line Steamers, which had operated ships between Milwaukee and Ludington and Manistee since 1882.

A brief review of this line is worth while since it contributed much to the tonnage of the port of Milwaukee for better than half a century. The Flint and Pere Marquette Railway was completed into the village of Pere Marquette, now the city of Ludington, in 1874. During the season of 1875 the road chartered the sidewheeler *John Sherman* for cross-lake service, chiefly to Manitowoc and Milwaukee. From 1876 to 1882 the railroad's freight was handled by the ships of the Goodrich Line. In 1882, two ships, wooden package freighters with passenger accommodations, were ordered from the Detroit Dry Dock Company. These were named *F. & P. M. No. 1* and *F. & P. M. No. 2*. They were followed in the next ten years by three more vessels, numbers 3 to 5 inclusive. The latter three were afterward renamed *Pere Marquette 3, 4, and 5*, respectively. Three more old wooden vessels were acquired from other lines and became the *Pere Marquette 6, 7, and 8*. When the railroad entered into the car ferry business exclusively, in the early

years of the present century, these ships formed the independent Pere Marquette Line Steamers, owned and operated by Otto and Gus Kitzinger of Milwaukee. Such of these old wooden veterans as were still around in the twenties were replaced by the steel steamers *Nevada*, built at Manitowoc in 1915 for Goodrich, and the *Virginia*, built on the coast in 1902 as the *Berkeley* of the Old Dominion Line. In 1934 the Pere Marquette Line Steamers and the Wisconsin and Michigan Transportation Company were united, the merger being known as the Wisconsin and Michigan Steamship Company. Four vessels were involved, the *Nevada*, *Virginia*, *Illinois*, and *Missouri*. Since there was scarcely enough business for two ships, only the *Nevada*, cut down to an auto transport, and the *Illinois* were operated. In 1941 the former Anchor Line cruise ship *Juniata* was completely rebuilt and streamlined and renamed *Milwaukee Clipper*. Since then this ship alone has carried on the trans-lake Michigan service.

Milwaukee has, since the arrival of the first railway ferry in 1896, become the world's greatest car ferry port. Car ferry operations on Lake Michigan began in 1892 when the *Ann Arbor No. 1* and *Ann Arbor No. 2* operated out of Frankfort, Michigan.² However, the Ann Arbor vessels never made Milwaukee a regular port of call. In 1896, though, the Flint and Pere Marquette Railway opened car ferry service between Ludington and Milwaukee with the 350 foot steel ship *Pere Marquette*, built by Wheeler at Bay City. Though not the first car ferry on the Great Lakes, having been preceded in 1892 by the two Ann Arbor vessels and by the two Shenango ferries built for Lake Erie service in 1895, as well as by a number of the earlier Detroit River ferries, she was the first steel car ferry and was the ship which really made the car ferry business go. In design, size and appearance the *Pere Marquette* was the prototype of successful car ferries all over the world.

Nearly contemporary with the F. & P. M. ferry line, the Chicago and Western Michigan Railroad was operating the wooden ferry *Muskegon*, built in 1895 as the *Shenango No. 2* for Lake Erie. This ship ran between various Michigan ports to Milwaukee and Waukegan, Illinois. Around the turn of the century these two railroads merged and the combine was afterward known as the Pere Marquette Railroad. At that time

2. See *Lake Michigan Carferries, Yesterday & Today* by Thomas B. Dancey (INLAND SEAS, July 1945, pp. 2-15).

the *Muskegon* became the *Pere Marquette* 16. In all, twelve car ferries have operated into Milwaukee in the *Pere Marquette* Line. The two already named were followed in 1901 and 1902 by the *Pere Marquette* 17 and *Pere Marquette* 18 of all steel construction, and the first on the lakes with extensive passenger accommodations. The 19 and 20, similar in size, but without the passenger cabins, came out in 1903 and 1904. The second 18 came out in 1911, replacing the first 18, which had been lost the year before. The 21 and 22 came out in 1924. All of these ships bore a close resemblance to the original *Pere Marquette*, which later came to be known as the *Pere Marquette* 15 — they were about 350 feet long, by 56 feet in beam, with four tracks on the main deck, with cars loaded through the stern. They carried cabins amidships on the upper deck and two stacks in tandem. In the late twenties the turbine driven *City of Saginaw* and *City of Flint* were added, single stacked 380 footers, very fast. The big *City of Midland* came out in 1940. Rumors indicate that another ship will be added in the near future.

Milwaukee's other car ferry line began in 1903 with Crosby's *Grand Haven*, operating between Milwaukee and Grand Haven. When the Grand Trunk Western took over this route the vessel was kept on the same line, and was joined some time later by the former Grand Rapids and Indiana car ferry *Manistique*, *Marquette* and *Northern No. 1*, which had been running between Northport, on Grand Traverse Bay and Manistique in the Upper Peninsula. This ship was renamed *Milwaukee*. Two 360 foot Manitowoc-built ships were added in the middle twenties, the *Grand Rapids* and *Madison*. In November, 1929, the *Milwaukee* vanished in a storm and carried 52 people to their death. Her commander was Captain Robert McKay, a veteran Lake Michigan master. He, it will be remembered, was in command of the Crosby ship *Naomi*, when she was gutted by fire on Lake Michigan 22 years before. It was an ironic coincidence that the first piece of identifiable wreckage from the *Milwaukee* was found a few days later by the Goodrich steamer *Wisconsin*, which was the rebuild of the *Naomi*. Only a week later this ship would follow her one time commander to a watery grave. She capsized in a sea off Kenosha, Wisconsin on November 29th, 1929.

A year to the day after the disappearance of the *Milwaukee* the new *City of Milwaukee* slid down the ways at Manitowoc to take the place of her lost namesake. The *Grand Rapids*, *Madison*, and *City of Milwaukee* carry on the service today, though the eastern terminus was moved

to Muskegon in 1934. The old *Grand Haven*, pioneer of the fleet, after several years of inactivity, was only recently sold to the West India Fruit and Steamship Company of Palm Beach, Florida, and is now operating between that seaport and Havana, Cuba.

Today, with the passenger trade very much on the decline, and the package freighters gone,³ it is the car ferries chiefly, with tankers, bulk freighters, and foreign steamers, that make Milwaukee the busy port that it is.

Nevertheless, it remains true, with all due respect to the efforts of Engelmann, Crosby, Pere Marquette, and Grand Trunk, that the Cream City's longest succession of ships is the fleet of little white tug boats that move the big fellows through the winding channels of the city's three rivers. In the middle fifties Milwaukee got its first tug. In most of the ninety or more years since then, the towing business in Milwaukee has been the joint effort of two German families, the Starkes and the Meyers. Twenty tugs in all have been regularly stationed at Milwaukee. Today the Clarke Towing Company, now operating the last two, the *Welcome* and the *Roger*, is one of the few independent tug lines on the Great Lakes.

This paper has been a running account of the Milwaukee ships of the past. What of today? With the Engelmann and the Crosby boats gone and none to take their place, are we to think that Milwaukee is a port that WAS famous? Far from it. While it is true that there is only one passenger ship calling there, the *Milwaukee Clipper*, the port still has six or seven car ferry arrivals and departures daily, and is the largest coal receiving port on the Great Lakes, and more foreign vessels have docked there since the war than any other on the Great Lakes. Milwaukee is a city of great industrial achievements, reflected in names like Allis-Chalmers, Falk, Nordberg engines, Kearney-Trecker milling machinery, Harnischfeger, Bucyrus-Erie steam shovels, A. O. Smith vehicle frames, and the "Big Inch" pipe line, Holeproof and Phoenix hosiery, Nunn-Bush shoes, Cutler-Hammer electrical equipment, Cudahy and Plankinton in packing, Pfister and earlier Romadka in tanning, Pritzlaff in hardware — all these to say nothing of Schlitz, Pabst, Blatz, Miller, Gettelmann, and others, in whose brews Milwaukee's popular reputation is so soundly bottled. Such an industrial center has not become so without the assistance of its port facilities.

3. See *The Vanishing Fleets* by Rev. E. J. Dowling, S.J. (INLAND SEAS, January 1946, pp. 7-16).

Possessed naturally of a fine harbor, and a beautiful one, often called "America's Bay of Naples," the city long ago placed the public port properties in the hands of a capable board of commissioners, who were fortunately cut free from all political apron strings. The Harbor Commission conducted a nation-wide search for one capable of directing its affairs, and found in Harry C. Brockel, present port manager, a man of genius, foresight and dynamic energy. The Harbor Commission operates the large outer harbor public docks for handling merchandise and oil cargoes. They also operate the still more mammoth Jones Island mooring basin, where as many as forty ships have docked for the winter lay up. Besides the public owned projects, private enterprises operate about twenty coal docks with modern machinery for unloading the largest bulk freighters, also four large grain elevators, two cement plants, and at least one large sand storage yard. Freighters from every fleet on the Great Lakes come to Milwaukee Harbor. Brockel is making efforts now to revive the package freight trade on the Inland Seas, and is personally responsible for the fact that more foreign freighters dock at Milwaukee than anywhere else on the lakes. He states that in the coming season (1948) about fifty foreign ships will call at Milwaukee. Only recently Mr. Brockel recommended to Milwaukee industrial leaders and capitalists whose businesses are dependent on the city's port facilities, the feasibility of forming a line of package freight steamers of canal size, for both ocean and lake service. But apart from this project of an ocean-to-lakes line, Brockel has steadily maintained that the package freight trade on the Lakes alone can be brought back. In the former busy days of this trade, package freighters of all the important lines made Milwaukee a regular port of call. Brockel believes that modern ships with lower operating costs, plus improved dock and handling equipment, can bring this trade back to a money making basis.

Milwaukee, visited first by Marquette, established as a city by Juneau and Kilbourne, preserves the names of her forefathers. The city's largest educational institution is Marquette University. While, from beautiful Juneau Park one can watch the big car ferries clear the harbor piers, bound for Ludington and Muskegon, or from the Kilbourne Avenue viaduct, you can see the coal boats being unloaded. So, the past and the present live together, and the names of Milwaukee's immortals are associated with the ships that make Milwaukee famous.

Horace Greeley at Niagara Falls

By M. L. WILLIAMS

IT IS CUSTOMARY TO THINK of the 1830's and 40's chiefly in terms of manifest destiny and expansion. The expulsion of the Indian from his tribal holdings, the migration to Oregon, the annexation of Texas, the acquisition of the Mexican territory were milestones marking the westward march of empire. Another contemporary phenomenon, closely linked with territorial expansion, was the almost hectic interest in the grandeur and magnificence of the natural wonders so bountifully provided by an all-wise Providence. The huge "ten-acre" canvasses of the Hudson River school of painting — mountain glens, foaming torrents, rugged peaks, unscalable cliffs (always with an ubiquitous observer perched on an overhanging ledge) — were fantastically popular.¹ Vast scenic panoramas were painted on "miles" of canvas, mounted on rollers, and ponderously unrolled before a gaping public.² It was an era of guide books, not the "emigrant guides," which have become justly famous with historians and collectors, but the guide books for the social travelers with money in their pockets and varying degrees of ennui in their breasts: guides to the South, to the West, to the prairies, to the Springs, to the Great Lakes, to the Mississippi, to Niagara Falls.³ Americans had no need, then, for the slogan: "See America First."

1. Thomas Cole's "A Distant View of Niagara Falls" was the artistic sensation of the thirties. In the forties W. H. Bartlett's *American Scenery* was the chief ornament of parlors and studies. Frederick E. Church's "Niagara" was not painted until 1857.
2. For example, the "grand moving mirror of American scenery, painted on 25,000 feet of canvas, comprising the Mammoth Cave of Kentucky, the Falls of Niagara in winter and summer, and other natural scenery" by a Mr. Brewer was being exhibited in 1849. John Banvard's "Panorama of the Mississippi" (three miles long) was shown throughout the country in the 1840's.
3. C. M. Dow lists twenty separate guide books to Niagara alone (not counting the different editions) between 1830 and 1850. Best known were those by G. M. Davison, H. S. Tanner, H. O. Parsons, S. De Veaux, Theodore Dwight, O. L. Holley, T. G. Hulett, W. B. and C. E. Peck, and J. W. Ingraham.

Probably no natural wonder was more easy of access or more frequently visited in these decades than Niagara Falls.⁴ Completion of the Erie Canal made the Falls the great show place of North America. P. T. Barnum's contemporaries lost no time in taking advantage of the situation. Reading matter, factual and fictitious, was devised to beguile the tourist. Resort promoters, like the noted Rathbun, provided accommodations both aristocratic and plebeian. Hackmen, ferrymen, professional guides; dealers in curios, operators of museums, and vendors of ices and liquors — all worked for the tourist's dollar. The Falls were business, good business. Someone should write the commercial history of Niagara Falls in its pre-honeymooner days.

Of the thousands of people who visited Niagara in this twenty-year period, hundreds left records for posterity in the form of letters, journals, memoirs, poems. C. M. Dow's monumental *Anthology*⁵ is particularly rich in entries collected from these years. But even his extensive searches overlooked the published records of many visitors to the Falls. One of these was an account of a visit by Horace Greeley to Niagara in July, 1842 which was printed as a letter to Rufus W. Griswold, Editor, in *Graham's Magazine*, August 1842.⁶ Greeley, like everyone else, wanted to tell others what to see and how to react while visiting the Falls. As one of the guide books put it:

Great differences of opinion exist as to the best view of this scene of many wonders. One says "the best view of the Falls is from Table Rock." Another, "the best view is to be had from the centre of the river, in crossing." A third, "the prospect is the best from Point View." A fourth, "the best view is from the foot of the stair case, on the American side." A fifth, "the grandest views of all are from the point of Iris [Goat] Island where it overlooks the Horse Shoe Falls, and from the tower at the Terrapin Rocks." After all, it must be conceded that the view of the Falls in Canada surpasses any on the American side.⁷

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4. "In the year 1836 the names of 30,000 persons were registered on the two shores at the Falls of Niagara," *Table Rock Album*, Buffalo, 1855, p. 62.
 5. C. M. Dow, *Anthology and Bibliography of Niagara Falls*, 2 vols., Albany, 1921.
 6. Greeley made a second report on Niagara Falls in the *New York Weekly Tribune*, July 22, 1848. Writing from the Cataract House (July 10), he decried the presence of factories, mills, "groceries, catch-penny shows, and rookeries of all sorts." He felt, however, that the *Maid of the Mist* and the Suspension Bridge (then being constructed) enhanced the visitor's enjoyment of the Falls.
 7. S. De Veaux, *The Travellers' Own Book to . . . Niagara Falls . . .*, 2nd ed., Buffalo 1841, p. 110.

That Greeley's opinions were different and forcibly expressed in his best editorial manner is evident from his comment:

A few hints to visitors must close this hasty epistle. They tell you, good friends, that the best view of the Cataract is that from the Canada side; and so it is; but it is far from being the *only* good or even necessary view. The details are essential to the completeness and fulness of your impression, and those are only gleaned from hours of intent observation from all positions. The very best view is probably that from Table Rock; the next best perhaps that from under the same, on the point just before passing behind the grand curtain, when, having descended the winding stair-way and scrambled over some rods of shale between the beetling cliff and the whirling basin, forcing your way through an eternal tempest of wind and rain such as upper earth endures but once in many years, you stand at length directly face to face with the mighty torrent, and put your hands, if you please, into the edge of its very self. You look up, and the columnar sea seems pouring from the very sky overhead; you now learn to appreciate more justly the vast height of the Fall; as you gaze, the impending water seems to advance upon, and the next moment likely to dash over and overwhelm you.

But these are not alone as points of deepest interest; and I think some of the many views from Goat Island scarcely inferior in impressiveness, while superior in softness and beauty. The noble forest, the velvet turf, the glowing sunbeams, the unconstrained stillness of all things save the Great Cataract itself, fitly blend with and modify the first sensations of unapproachable grandeur and power. The stern severity, the austere majesty of the scene is softened down; and we return to our primal knowledge of Nature under no stepmother aspect, but as a sympathizing confidant and friend.

In a didactic age, when every sentimentalist was moved to verbalize his profundities, a stimulus like Niagara evoked some astonishing pieces of wisdom. Greeley was no exception; the sublimity of the cataract produced the stereotyped result:

There is then [late autumn] a sternness in the sky, a plaintive melancholy in the sighing of the wind through the mottled forest foliage, which harmonizes better with the spirit of the scene. For the Genius of Niagara, O friend! is never a laughter-loving spirit. For the gaudy vanities, the petty pomps, the light follies of the hour, he has small sympathy. Let not the giddy heir bring here his ingots, the selfish aspirant his ambition, the libertine his victim, and hope to find enjoyment and gaiety in the presence. Let none come here to nurse his pride, or avarice, or any other low desire. God and His handiwork here stand forth in lone sublimity; and all the petty doings and darings of the ants at the base of the pyramid appear in their proper insignificance. Few can have visited Niagara and left it no humbler, no graver than they came.

That many hundreds of the visitors would gaze vacuously was to be expected. Their remarks in the Niagara Falls "album" indicate that, for them, the Falls were merely an "object of curiosity." Andrew Reed and James Matheson (*A Narrative of the Visit to the American Churches . . .*, London, 1835) recorded that

Such persons drove in on the morning, explored for a couple of hours, dined, and hurried away. Or, if they stayed, they had had enough of Niagara, and they made an excursion to see the burning springs. The album here, too, is full of miserable trash . . .

Examples of this trash show that the American tourist is a species unique in the annals of sightseeing:

Reminds me of Daddy's mill pond, when the gates are hoisted. Jonas.

Loud roars the waters, O,
Loud roars the waters, O,
When I come to the Falls again,
I hope they will not spatter so.
 S. B.

Mem. — This atmosphere is terribly destructive to starched collars, and takes the curls out of one's whiskers with amazing celerity. C. A. Mandeville.

The Yankees generally take, and keep too, whatever they set their hearts upon having.
 One of Them.

Look up to where the mist arises
And see where God himself baptizes!
 Lydia.⁸

Greeley disposed of such persons in cavalier style. "The common fault of visitors here, as of sight-seers elsewhere, is that of haste. Two hours are devoted to a scene which requires days, if not weeks, for its proper appreciation." Then, himself committing another "common fault of sightseers everywhere," Greeley continued, "Niagara, like St. Peter's at Rome, enlarges on the vision; the mind must have time to expand ere it can grasp all its giant proportions." Greeley, of course, had not seen St. Peter's at this date.

Visitors to Niagara were much exercised about a potential catastrophe predicted by the English geologist, Charles Lyell. Not having seen the Falls, Lyell had confidently announced, on the basis of his reading, that, if the disintegrating power of the river remained the same in the future as it had in the past and the fall continued to regress at the rate of fifty yards every forty years, Lake Erie would be reached and drained in 30,000 years. Other "observers," both on and away from the spot, had repeated his prediction with equal confidence. Though geologists George W.

8. Taken from *Table Rock Album*, Buffalo, 1855. Most of the selections bear entry dates before 1850.

Featherstonehaugh and James Hall had challenged Lyell's statement, and though Lyell, himself, had repudiated his earlier opinion after his visit to the Falls in 1841, Greeley sensationally elaborated the story like the good journalist he was:

The giant masonry of Nature, which has so long interposed a barrier against the draining of Lake Erie into Ontario at a rush, and the consequent overwhelming of all the dwellers upon the latter and the St. Lawrence by a deluge, is evidently wearing away; I can perceive a decided change since I first stood here, seven years ago. The main or British fall is receding near the middle, and thus exchanging its original (or recent) form of a horseshoe for that of an irregular wedge. By this process the beauty and grandeur of the cataract are sensibly diminished. I understand that the recession here, under the pressure of so vast a body of water, has been so rapid as essentially to diminish the amount of water flowing on the American side of Goat Island, even within twenty years. Five hundred will probably suffice to dry this channel altogether; five thousand may or may not suffice to bring on the great convulsion which will destroy the falls entirely, change Lake Erie into a sandy valley divided by a rapid river, leave one half the Erie Canal without water, and change the whole face of Nature from Detroit to the Ocean. And why from Detroit only? It *may* be that a barrier of rock equally firm prevents the immediate occurrence of a similar convulsion at the mouths of the Huron and Michigan, and thus the cataract will but be transferred to a point much nearer the Superior; yet I should deem it quite as likely that the final submersion of Niagara, if instantaneous, as it very probably will be, when the rocky barrier has been sapped and broken down so nearly through as no longer to afford adequate resistance to the intense pressure of Lake Erie, will be the signal for a convulsion so mighty as to change the whole topography of Central North America.

Greeley had gone to Niagara as a tourist; as a tourist he had seen the mighty spectacle; as a journalist, he had conquered not only time and space, but the cataract as well. In five thousand years the "whole topography of Central North America" might be changed. No other visitor ever arrived at such awesome conclusions. It was truly a period of uninhibited journalism.

Memories of the E. P. Wilbur

By GEORGE WATERBURY

THE GLOBE IRON WORKS and Shipbuilding Company built five steel steamers for the Lehigh Valley Railroad for the package freight and grain trade, to run between Buffalo, Milwaukee, Chicago, and Gladstone, located at the upper part of Green Bay. They were the ocean type of tramp steamer, having four masts. Two were forward and two aft of the pilot house and cabin, also the three boilers and triple expansion engine. Cylinders 24"-38"-61" by 42" stroke. The boilers were twelve feet in diameter, located amidship. There was a long shaft to the propeller, which was enclosed in a tunnel. This tunnel was a nuisance and in the way for handling freight and grain.

The other four steamers were the *Cayuga*, *Seneca*, *Tuscarora* and *Saranac*. They were exact duplicates in construction and equipment, except the *E. P. Wilbur*. This was the first of the boats built at Cleveland in 1888, and was equipped with a private cabin for the president of the Lehigh Valley Railroad. The *Wilbur* was named after him and she was the flagship of the line.

Captain Henry was appointed general manager of the steamboat division of the line, which included several wooden steamers. Captain Henry came from salt water service in steamboating, and had the "new" steamers designed to his own ideas (in my experience they were not as handy and convenient as the lake package freighters) for handling freight and grain, especially the after end, on account of the tunnel over the shafting.

The steamers had one smoke stack (or funnel as they are called on salt-water steamers). Long booms were attached at the lower end to each mast with the necessary tackle and steam hoisting gear for each boom, as they are in general use on all ocean tramps and the larger passenger steamships.

These five steamers put in a fine appearance when sailing on the lakes. Their hulls were painted black, the cabins white. The masts and booms were scraped and varnished. They carried no sails. The cargo booms,

when not in use, were secured to the masts. With their flags flying in the breeze they were fine specimens of naval architecture to look at and their average speed loaded was about fifteen miles per hour.

The steamers were what would be taken for first class tramps, had they been equipped with surface condensers and evaporators for making fresh water. I was appointed Chief Engineer of the *E. P. Wilbur*, and was very proud of the position. The promenade deck was sheeted over with planking and the deck was holystoned on every trip. The oak rail at the top of the bulwarks was finished and varnished. Abreast of each of the hatches a gangway was cut through the bulwark for handling freight, and the ends of the rail where they were cut were mounted with brass caps — “male and female” — so that they would lock and hold the gangway in place when not in use. This brass work on the rails and the sheet brass at the threshold of all the doors were polished and kept polished.

When loading or unloading freight, a strip of canvas was laid on deck from the gangway to the hatch so that the deck wouldn't get dirty while handling the freight, as the deck was polished. Then long skids were placed from the hatch to the gangway, and another skid from the gangway to the warehouse.

On the line loading from the drum of the hoisting engine and up through a sheave at the peak of the boom, then down to the hatch, two rope slings with two barrel hooks to each sling were secured to the hoisting lanyard. These hooks had a flat edge, and were bent to go under the chime at each end of the barrels. Then two barrels were put together and the hooks put under the chimes. These are the extension of the barrel staves extending beyond the barrel heads.

The barrels are hoisted to the top of the hatch where two men unhook them and roll them over the skid to the gangway. Two more men roll them into the warehouse. The same operation is continued until they reach the main deck. Then they hoist the barrels out toward the lower gangway, open those main gangways and send the barreled flour out through them to the warehouse (perpetual motion).

The stevedores furnish their own men to handle the hoisting engine in unloading. They use the same gear as in loading ship. The top of the booms are handled by a tackle from the mast so as to hold the boom at the proper angle over the hatch, which would allow the boom to swing, in handling the barrels.

On one occasion Captain Henry came aboard the *Wilbur* in Buffalo, and after his usual inspection of the steamer, stood at the after hatch watching them handle the barreled flour. It did not seem to suit him. We had been talking for some time about the boat, and how nicely everything was going. I had given him the Engineer's log book for the trip. He threw the book on the deck, then went over and shoved the operator away from the hoisting engine. He then took hold of the lever himself. Well! the two barrels went up and hit the boom. The two barrels unhooked. Down they came, hit the landing board and busted. Up came a cloud of flour dust, of which we all got a dose.

Captain Henry made a run for the rail, which was about four feet above the dock. He went over the rail to the dock and up the middle of Main Street with his coat tail straight out behind him and about twenty stevedores after him. I had a good view, looking from the deck of the steamer, and when Captain Henry turned the corner at Exchange Street, where their office was, the stevedores were about the width of the street behind him. He got in the building and into his office. It would have been hard to tell what would have happened, as the stevedores were all Irish and a husky bunch of men. It was lucky that no one was hit by the falling barrels, which had about a thirty-foot drop to the main deck.

Captain Henry did not come to the steamer until the next trip. I heard that he sent a few kegs of beer and some cigars to the stevedores. I guess that satisfied them, for I never heard any more of the "falling flour." Captain Henry was a middle aged man, and some runner. He must have put himself in high gear at the time.

Well, Captain Henry was a fine man to work for and I liked him very much. He came aboard the next trip, so I guessed that everything was okay.

A new railroad was built from Gladstone to Minneapolis and connected with the road to Sault Ste. Marie. Some trips we would wait three and four days for flour from Minneapolis. So on one trip (Captain Parley McFarlane of Buffalo sailed the *E. P. Wilbur*) we got a pass and went to St. Paul and Minneapolis, and had a good time. Then they put the *Wilbur* in the Milwaukee-Chicago trade. They painted the promenade deck, put the trucks for handling freight and dunnage on the deck, and there was no more holystoning the deck. The railing and brass work was painted, the masts and booms were painted, and the glory of the ship was lost.

The steamer *Cayuga*, one of the five, was sunk by the passenger propeller *Joseph L. Hurd* in a heavy fog on Lake Michigan near Skillagalee light house.

On another trip to Gladstone, as we were loading, the engineer of a sawmill a short distance from the dock where the *Wilbur* was loading, came aboard and wanted me to go with him and see what was the trouble with the engine. The day was very warm and I drank considerable water which had a peculiar taste. When we arrived at Buffalo I had a good case of typhoid fever and had to go to the hospital. This ended my service on the *Wilbur*.



NOVEMBER GALE, a painting by Rowley Murphy, A.R.C.A. Exhibited at the Annual Exhibition, 1948, Ontario Society of Artists, Toronto. (See page 75.)



SHORELINE EROSION which has washed away the breakwater and partly engulfed the back lawn of home near Toronto. Photograph by the *Evening Telegram*, Toronto. (See page 75.)



WATER WASHING over breakwater, Toronto Island, September 20, 1947. (See page 75.)



THE *Turret Crown*. Photograph by courtesy of Louis Baus.
(See page 140.)



THE *Tuscarora*, Lehigh Valley Railroad Line. Photograph by courtesy
of Louis Baus. (See page 101.)



FIRST TRIP of the surf boat to the *Kershaw* in the storm of September 29, 1895. (See page 124.)



THE *Moonlight* and *Kent* after the storm. (See page 124.)



WHITEHAVEN on Grand Island, opposite Tonawanda, as it appeared in 1834. It was here Major Noah's Ararat Tablet was set up by Mr. Lewis F. Allen.



THE ARARAT STONE, for proposed Refugee City for Jews on Grand Island in the Niagara River, 1825. Preserved by the Buffalo Historical Society.

PHOTOGRAPHS from *The Story of the Tablet of the City of Ararat*, by Hon. Lewis F. Allen, Buffalo Historical Society, Publications, vol. XXV.
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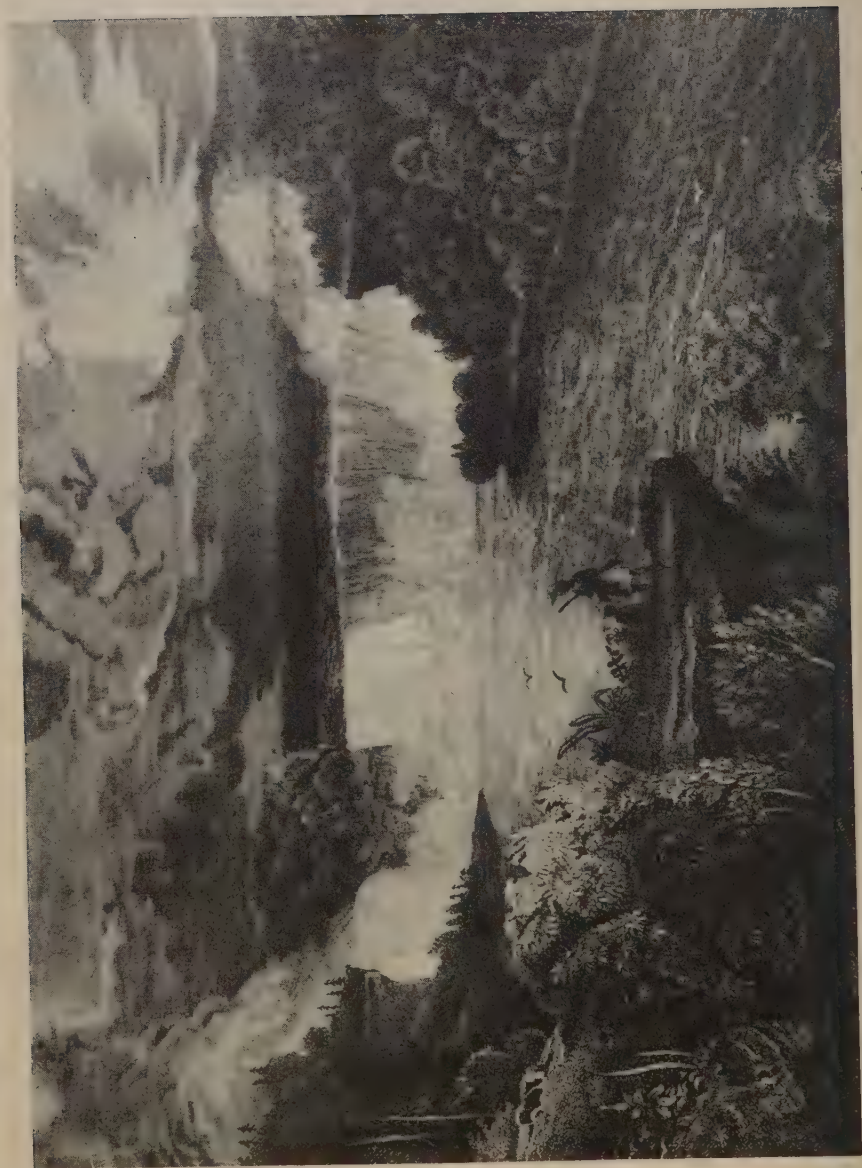
THE *Naomi*, Crosby Transit Company. (See page 89.)
 Photograph by courtesy of Kenneth E. Smith.



THE *Naomi* after burning, May 21, 1907. (See page 90.)
 Photograph by courtesy of Kenneth E. Smith.



MICHIGAN CITY, INDIANA, harbor in 1923 showing sidewheeler *City of Saugatuck*.
(Port Series No. XIX.) Photograph by George A. Vargo.



A DISTANT VIEW of the Falls of Niagara. Painted by T. Cole. Engraved on steel by
T. S. Woodcock. Boston. 1832. (See page 96.)



United States-Canadian Treaties Affecting Great Lakes Commerce and Navigation*

By GILBERT R. JOHNSON



PART II

THE LAST TREATY ON THIS SUBJECT consolidated the principles of the two earlier treaties and established all waters of the Great Lakes as boundary waters. Known as the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909, which was signed by James Bryce for Canada and Elihu Root for the United States, it provides that all waters through which the international boundary passes, from shore to shore, including all bays, arms and inlets, and Lake Michigan should be regarded as boundary waters.⁸

All these waters, the treaty states, "shall forever continue free and open for the purposes of commerce to the inhabitants and to the ships, vessels, and boats of both countries equally. . . ."⁹ Each nation reserves the right to enact laws within her own territory, on condition that such laws will be "not inconsistent with the right of free navigation" and will apply "equally and without discrimination to the inhabitants, ships, vessels, and boats of both countries."¹⁰

These reservations are essentially designed to protect the ships of each country in their domestic trade and to permit each country to adopt measures for the safety of life and property applicable to its own ships and its own territory. The reservations have had that effect. Neither country permits the ships of the other to engage in her coast-wise trade, that is, to transport goods or passengers between her ports. For instance, a Canadian ship may not move a cargo of coal or transport passengers from Cleveland to Milwaukee. Nor may an American

* Address given at the annual meeting of the Great Lakes Historical Society, May 22, 1947. The first part appeared in the October, 1947 issue of *INLAND SEAS*.

8. Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909, Preliminary Article.

9. Same, Article I.

10. Same.

ship carry a cargo of grain from Fort William to Toronto. During the recent war both countries found it necessary, in effecting full use of their ships in the common cause of defeating the enemy, to suspend these coastwise restrictions in part. Congress authorized Canadian ships for the duration of the war to carry iron ore between ports on the Great Lakes; and Canada permitted American ships on occasion to transport grain between her ports.

Both countries have their own safety laws pertaining to the crewing and inspection of their own ships. These laws are rarely applied by one country to the ships of the other. There has been one instance in recent years when the United States undertook to enforce its safety laws as to Canadian ships. About ten years ago Congress enacted legislation governing the depth to which vessels could be loaded. These load line laws apply to all ships, but Congress made an exception for foreign ships which, under the laws of their country, were observing safety standards substantially as high as ours. At the time our Act was passed, Canada's load line regulations were not in effect. The United States began enforcing its regulations. The campaign was of short duration, for Canada quickly completed her legislation and her ships were relieved of our requirements when they traded to American ports.

By enacting legislation for the protection of their own domestic commerce and the safety of their ships, these two countries do not impair the right of free navigation. However, if either undertook to impose tolls upon the ships of the other for the use of her waters, that country would be enacting a law inconsistent with the terms of the Treaty of 1909. Such a law would have to apply "equally and without discrimination" to the ships of both countries. By prohibiting preferences to ships in passage through canals, the Treaty of 1909 takes away from each country the most effective opportunity of imposing trade obstacles incident to the mere use of her waters. The treaty doubtless has much to do with the absence of tolls in both countries.

The treaty of 1909 deals with subjects in addition to defining the boundary waters and securing reciprocal navigation rights. Of great importance is the restraint it places on each country in making uses, obstructions and diversions of water on its side to the impairment of the level of water on the other side. Of course, uses, obstructions, and

diversions in effect in 1909 are continued and no restriction is placed upon the right of either country to use water for domestic and sanitary purposes. The two countries, however, clearly committed themselves to a policy of maintaining the levels of the various lakes for commerce and navigation.

The provision of the treaty was construed and applied by the United States Supreme Court some thirty-five years ago.¹¹ After the Chicago Sanitary District was completed and the natural flow of water in the Chicago River was reversed in the direction of the Mississippi River, the Sanitary District diverted more water from Lake Michigan than the Secretary of War authorized. The United States brought an action to enjoin the Sanitary District from continuing this unlawful diversion. The Sanitary District defended, among others, on the ground that the United States had no right to determine the amount of water which the District could abstract from Lake Michigan. Lake Michigan, with Lake Superior, is at the top of the terrace of lakes and the flow is naturally through the Straits of Mackinac from Lake Michigan into Lake Huron, thence into Lakes Erie and Ontario. The United States met this defense by showing that a diversion from Lake Michigan affected the levels, not only of that lake, but of the lower lakes as well. The Treaty of 1909 was invoked and the Supreme Court held that the United States was obligated under the treaty to take action to preserve water levels. Chicago thus lost that first round. She has lost every other round since that time in many attempts to increase the quantity of water taken from Lake Michigan.

The development of navigation projects illustrates the full significance of the navigation rights secured by the Treaty of 1909. The United States has improved and maintains many miles of navigable channels on both sides of the international boundary in the rivers connecting the lakes. Earlier mention was made of the Livingstone and Amherstburg Channels in the lower Detroit River. Those channels form part of very extensive improvements financed by the United States. Mr. L. C. Sabin, Vice President of Lake Carriers' Association, estimates that up to 1944 the United States had expended about \$24,000,000 in the lower Detroit River and that more than half the expenditure was directed to projects in Canadian waters.

11. *Chicago Sanitary District v. United States*, 266 U. S. 405.

No treaty or other formal agreement expressly authorizes these improvements which the United States has made in Canadian waters. The obvious explanation is that by the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 the United States obtained perpetual navigation rights for her ships and citizens in Canadian waters. Having those rights, the United States needed no further guarantees and it was entirely proper for the Congress to authorize the improvements and make appropriations for their construction and maintenance as though the improvements lay wholly within our territorial waters.

In the matter of navigation rights, the Treaty of 1872 and the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 are geographically complementary. The Treaty of 1872 applies only to the St. Lawrence from the place where it ceases to be the international boundary, thence to the sea. The Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 applies above that place in the St. Lawrence River; that is, the latter treaty applies to the upper St. Lawrence River and to the several lakes and their connecting waters. The first embraces waters wholly in Canada, namely, the lower St. Lawrence River and, except as to doubt in interpretation mentioned later, the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The second embraces some waters wholly within the United States, namely, Lake Michigan.

The language of the two treaties is not identical and there is some question that the two treaties make similar provision for navigation. As to waters exclusively within Canada in the lower St. Lawrence River, the Treaty of 1872 provides that they "shall forever remain free and open for the purposes of commerce . . . subject to any laws or regulations . . . of the Dominion of Canada not inconsistent with such privilege of free navigation."¹² The Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909, which deals with Lake Michigan, imposes the additional restriction that such laws, and particularly tolls for the use of canals, shall apply equally to the ships of both countries.

Tolls are not considered an impairment of the privilege of free navigation. There is considerable room for the imposition of charges of that sort, with classifications or immunities which might actually result in discrimination against and burden upon ships. Canada could impose such charges upon United States ships for the use of canals in the lower St. Lawrence River without violating any treaty obliga-

12. Treaty of 1872, Article XXVI.

tion. On the other hand, any such charges imposed by the United States for the use of canals wholly within the United States would have to apply equally to the ships of both countries.

There is one ambiguity in the Treaty of 1872. It confers rights of navigation in the lower St. Lawrence River "from, to and into the sea." The Atlantic Ocean is not expressly mentioned and it is not clear that the United States has any rights of navigation through the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Atlantic.

The terms "sea" and "ocean" are not synonymous.¹³ A "sea" is a body of salt or brackish water, less than an ocean. Judicial decisions support this definition.

The Gulf of St. Lawrence is at most an arm of the Atlantic Ocean. Those two bodies of water are connected by the Straits of Belle Isle to the north of Newfoundland and Cabot Strait to the south.

The right of United States ships to navigate the Gulf of St. Lawrence has never been challenged by Canada. That right may never be challenged. However, if the issue should ever arise, and if it should be held that the Gulf of St. Lawrence is the "sea" within the meaning of the Treaty of 1872, United States ships would not have navigation rights between the Great Lakes and the Atlantic Ocean. It would then develop that the United States has not procured from Canada the same rights in waters lying wholly within Canada as the United States has conferred upon Canadian ships in the use of Lake Michigan, lying wholly within United States territory.

Cooperative action between the two countries extends to safety of life and property. While the subject has not been covered by treaty, the two countries have had identical rules for the prevention of collision for more than one-half century. After collaboration with Canadians, Great Lakes ship operators and mariners in the United States urged the Congress to enact separate pilot rules for these waters. The necessary legislation was passed in 1895. Canada quickly adopted the same rules. Since that time there have been no changes of substance in the rules of either country without the approval and adoption of such changes by the other.

In 1908 the United States and Canada agreed that, within the waters through which the international boundary extends, the vessels of both

13. *Waring et al. v. Clarke*, 5 Howard (U. S.) 441.

countries "may save any property wrecked and may render aid and assistance to any vessel wrecked, disabled or in distress. . . ." Towage incident to salvage is likewise permitted.¹⁴ Under this treaty any ship in distress may be saved by any other ship irrespective of nationality and there will be no danger of incurring penalties for violation of the coasting laws of the country in which the service is rendered. It places safety of life and property beyond the restrictions of those laws.

Not the least important in the relations of the United States and Canada is the voluntary and informal cooperation between ship operators and masters for the advancement of safety. For more than twenty-five years the two vessel industries have collaborated in the establishment of sailing courses. Following these courses, ships moving upbound or northbound on the various lakes adhere to lanes separated from those navigated by ships proceeding downbound or southbound. By the observance of these separate lanes, the risk of collision is greatly diminished in a traffic area which, measured by the number of vessels passing common points, is denser than in any other large body of water in the world. During the navigation season, for example, a ship passes Detroit enroute between upper and lower lake ports every fifteen to twenty minutes.

Virtually all ships on the Great Lakes are equipped with radio telephone on voluntary basis. The governments of the United States and Canada have allocated common frequencies for ship to ship communication. The apparatus placed on the ships enables them to transmit and receive on those frequencies. Canadian and United States ships converse freely among themselves on matters of safety of navigation.

As great sovereign nations, either the United States or Canada has the inherent power to require within her own waters the ships of the other to conform to local laws. Each has the right to use and dispose of bordering waters as her people desire. By these treaties, however, both countries have relinquished a substantial measure of sovereignty and each has given the other a voice in matters that could properly be regarded as her own affairs.

Nations are reluctant to transfer in whole or in part sovereign rights to other nations. The national interest of a people is always their first consideration. Compacts between nations that involves their national

14. Treaty of 1908 Respecting Salvage, Article II.

interest and sovereign rights should be carefully negotiated and consummated. Our Constitution provides that safeguard. Unlike ordinary legislation, the approval of treaties requires more than bare majority action of the two Houses of Congress. Treaties must be ratified by two-thirds of the Senate.

Our treaties with Canada dealing with navigation and commerce on the Great Lakes show that the national interest of a people in certain matters may best be served by cooperation between the United States and Canada in other fields. The people of these two countries have the same heritage, speak the same language, and maintain similar standards of living. No more difference exists between them than between the people of Ohio and Michigan. Both countries possess resources which the other needs. Both countries have a common interest in the maintenance of peace and the adequate defense of the western hemisphere.



Ararat on the Great Lakes

By HYMAN HOROWITZ



IN THESE DAYS, when the struggle for a Jewish homeland is in full swing and the question of Jewish-Gentile relations is frequently discussed, it is fitting to recall the career of a brilliant American and a brilliant Jew which had not only a bearing on these two subjects, but whose many activities at one point touched the Great Lakes.

Probably only historians and visitors to the Buffalo Historical Museum know that in the last century there was a project to build a Jewish home in the Niagara River. The proponent was Mordecai Manuel Noah, distinguished as American patriot, diplomat, public servant, editor, playwright and Jewish leader in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Noah was indeed a versatile man. Beside the office of United States Consul to Tunis and surveyor of the port of New York, he was sheriff, judge and held the rank of major in the New York state militia. In his journalistic activities he was editor of the *City Gazette* of Charleston, South Carolina, and contributing editor to the New York *Enquirer*, New York *Herald* and many others. He composed and staged at least half a dozen plays, and has been called the most popular American playwright of his time.

His appointment to the Tunis consulship, made in 1813, was revoked two years later because, according to Secretary of State James Monroe, "at the time of your appointment it was not known that the religion which you profess would form any obstacle to the exercise of your consular functions." Five years later, however, Noah received a letter from ex-President Madison, who had given him his appointment (as well as letters of like friendliness from Thomas Jefferson and John Adams.) Madison virtually apologized for having permitted the removal of Noah, saying, "It was certain that your religious profession was well known at the time you received your commission, and that in itself could not be a motive in your recall."

The indignation which this episode aroused in Noah may well have inspired his daring move to try to establish a Jewish colony on Grand Island in the Niagara River, "for the purpose of having the same settled by emigrants of Jewish religion from Europe." Grand and some other small islands in the Niagara belonged to the State of New York, having been purchased from the Seneca Indians in 1815. Noah chose for the site of his venture a location opposite Tonawanda, where the Erie Canal enters the Niagara River, a location with great commercial possibilities.

Noah interested some friends in buying the necessary land, and on September 2, 1825 the dedication of the proposed settlement took place, not on Grand Island but in Buffalo, then a village of about 2,500 inhabitants. It is said that the ceremony had to be held in Buffalo because there were not enough boats to accommodate the huge crowd of Jews and non-Jews, assembled for the occasion, to go over to the island.

The dedication of the new Jewish land took place in the St. Paul Episcopal Church after a parade and demonstration in the streets with the participation of military and Masonic companies in the presence of national, state and municipal officers. In the parade, according to an account in the *Buffalo Patriot*, Noah was an impressive figure "in black, wearing the judicial robes of crimson silk, trimmed with ermine and a richly embossed golden medal suspended from the neck." There were appropriate prayers, music, blowing of the shofar, bearing of the symbolic corn, wine and oil — a striking pageant indeed.

The cornerstone for the new edifice had been obtained from the sandstone quarries in Cleveland, and the inscription was prepared by Noah. It began in Hebrew:

"Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one!"

Then in English:

ARARAT

A City of Refuge for the Jews

Founded by MORDECAI MANUEL NOAH

in the month of Tizri, 5586, Sept. 1825 & in
the 50th year of American Independence

(Ararat is the name of the mountain on which the Biblical Noah rested his ark when the deluge began to subside.)

The cornerstone with the inscription came, after many vicissitudes, recorded by Lewis F. Allen,¹ into the possession of the Buffalo Historical Museum.

Historians who admire Noah's spirit of enterprise and exceptional abilities for daring adventures, do not credit him with much modesty. He probably meant well and considered himself the messenger of the Lord to bring redemption to the Jews. This is indicated by the description of himself in the proclamation of the founding of "Ararat:" "I, Mordecai Manuel Noah, Citizen of the United States of America, late Consul of the said States for the City and Kingdom of Tunis, High Sheriff of New York, Counsellor at Law, and by the grace of God, Governor and Judge of Israel, have issued this my Proclamation, announcing to the Jews throughout the world, that an asylum is prepared and hereby offered to them, where they can enjoy that peace, comfort and happiness, which have been denied them through the intolerance and misgovernment of former ages."

And later: "It is my will that a census of the Jews throughout the world be taken. . . I command that a strict neutrality be observed in the pending wars between the Greeks and the Turks. . . Prayers shall forever be said in the Hebrew language," together with many other equally positive expressions of absolute rule.

The Jews of the world did not avail themselves of the invitation. Some rabbis resented Noah's taking command of the situation, and his grandiloquent phrases. Neither the Jews of Europe nor of the United States made any attempt to move to Ararat.

Nor did Noah himself go further in the matter. Allen says,² "He never owned an acre of the island, nor founded the city, nor laid a cornerstone *there*. . Nor have I been able, after diligent inquiry, to ascertain that he ever set foot on the island."


Yet Noah was in some respects ahead of his time. Unembittered by the failure of this project, he never lost interest in Palestine as the Jewish homeland, foretelling this destiny in his *Discourse on the Restoration of the Jews* (1844). For some 25 years after the "Ararat" episode, he continued his activities in various fields, Jewish and non-Jewish, with the

1. *Story of the Tablet of the City of Ararat*, in *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society*, vol. 25, 1921, pp. 113-144.

2. *Ibid*, p. 137.

same vigor and confidence in himself. His home in New York was open to rich and poor alike; it was a port of call for Jewish immigrants from all corners of the world. In 1850 he contemplated a visit to Jerusalem but his health failed him, and on March 22, 1851 he died of a paralytic stroke.

The Ararat stone in the Buffalo Historical Museum is the best monument to this picturesque and talented man.



The Wreck of the *Kershaw*, *Moonlight* and *Kent*

By R. A. BROTHERTON



ON SEPTEMBER 6, 1947, Roy Long left the Marquette County Air Port in his plane. While passing near the Chocoday shore on Lake Superior, much to his amazement, he saw lying on the bottom of the lake near a reef of rocks, and about a hundred yards from shore, the sunken hull of what looked like a large ore boat.

The surface of Lake Superior was like glass and its waters, due to atmospheric conditions, enabled one to see to a considerable depth. He circled about several times, flying low, and upon his return to Marquette he began querying as to the identity of the ship.

To answer his questions we have to go back to another September day, Sunday the 29th, 1895, fifty-two years ago. During the night a violent northeast gale had sprung up. The ore carrier *Kershaw* and her two barges, the *Moonlight* and *Kent*, were attempting to make the turn to get inside the Marquette Harbor breakwater, when a steam pipe broke, and there was nothing for the ships to do but drift helplessly to shore near the mouth of the Chocoday River.

The *Kershaw* was smashed against a rock reef about a hundred yards north of the river's mouth. The giant waves carried the *Moonlight* and *Kent* over the rock reef, and landed them far up on the Chocoday sand beach.

The lookout at the Life Saving Station gave the alarm and soon the surf boat was on the way to the Chocoday beach. There on their first trip in spite of the reef-infested shoals and high seas, they removed all but four of the crew from the *Kershaw* and brought them ashore safely.

It was Sunday, but the ministers preached to empty pews as thousands of Marquette people lined the Lake Superior shores watching the daring rescue. On the second trip out, the surf boat capsized halfway to the *Kershaw*, and the gallant lifesaving crew were thrown out, all, however,

managing to reach shore safely. The surf boat had a large hole stove in its bow where it had struck a submerged rock, and was rendered useless.

With a volunteer crew in addition to the Coast Guards (who were all right after their experience of the morning), Captain Cleary got out the big life boat at the Station, and another attempt was made to reach the *Kershaw*. By this time she had broken in two, and the bow end had started drifting toward the beach.

The ship's captain and the remaining three members of the crew were in a yawl boat in the lee of the stern, where hour after hour they kept rowing determinedly, attempting to keep the small yawl from capsizing.

It was a thrilling moment for the thousands who lined the shore, but one of great anxiety to the brave rescuers in the life boat and the four benumbed seamen in the little craft toward which she was speeding, the gale furnishing the impetus and the skilled hands of the crew guiding her in her flight with unerring precision.

And now she is within a hundred yards of the spot where the *Kershaw* lies, broken-backed, awaiting the final stroke that would rend her in twain and send her dissevered hulk to the bottom of the lake; now it is fifty, now twenty, now ten, and now she gracefully swings around the stern of the disabled vessel on the rock, and within a few yards of the yawl in which the four men have been riding, buffeted by the great waves and chilled by the cutting northeast gale since early morning. Will the brave crew of the life boat succeed in their noble endeavor or will they fail and have to rally for another attempt? The swaying, silent crowd along the shore watches breathlessly, with an interest so intense as to check expression by word or gesture as the critical moment arrives. Many a silent prayer goes up for both the rescuers and those waiting to be rescued.

The yawl goes down in the trough of a mighty sea as the life boat sweeps toward it. Now both are lost to sight for an instant and they both reappear, the life boat many yards away from the yawl and the latter empty. What has become of the four men? It seems almost incredible that they could have been transferred from the yawl to the life boat in that instant of time that the two were together in the trough of the churning sea, shut out of sight of the straining vision of those lining the shore by the mighty heaving billows. But now a tremendous cheer goes up from a thousand throats as it is seen that the life boat carries four more persons, and is valiantly battling its way to the shore, where it was

successfully beached. The men in the boat, being too exhausted to pull for the harbor, took a chance and landed on the beach without mishap, although they were soaking wet and half frozen.

The crews of the barges, *Moonlight* and *Kent*, got off without difficulty and hardly were wet, for the huge waves pushed the two vessels high up on the beach.

I was just a small boy when I witnessed this daring rescue, which was vividly recalled by the chance glance from his plane by Roy Long. I know of only one member of the crew of the *Moonlight* who is still alive, Edward Noren, who makes his home on State Highway M 35, a few miles east of Gwinn. Here he operates a small eating place and gas station. On the wall in a very prominent place is a picture of the *Moonlight* and *Kent*.

Marine Intelligence of Other Days

A series of reprints from old newspapers on Great Lakes affairs of earlier days. Readers are invited to contribute similar brief sketches from local papers to be found in their libraries or historical societies. Thus may valuable material be made available to all.

—EDITOR.

LAKE CRAFT

There were in harbor, this morning, 19 Steamboats, 2 Ships, 1 Barque, 7 Brigs and 61 Schooners. In all 90 sail. Among these is the *Julia Palmer* now being converted into a steamer. Of the steamboats about one half are undergoing repairs or being repainted, preparatory to commencing the fall campaign, the others are taking their regular turn in the line. The sail craft are all, or nearly all, loading or unloading and present a lively appearance.

Buffalo Advertiser, August 27, 1839
Reprinted in the Daily Chicago American,
September 6, 1839.

Captain John.

CLEVELAND HARBOR, 1839

Upwards of seventy vessels are in our harbor today, displaying quite a 'forest of masts' for nearly a mile on the river. We do not remember having seen so large a number in port before at one time. The wind has been quite fresh up the lake for a day or two past, and increased to a stiff gale this morning. Some of the schooners must have given *steam* a pretty good lead. The steamers *Bunker Hill* and *Rochester* came in from above this forenoon, stemming a stronger wind and rougher sea than is often met with. The steamer *Constitution* came in from below since noon.

Cleveland Herald and Gazette reprinted in
the Daily Chicago American, May 21, 1839.

Captain John.

THE JAMES MADISON

Steamboat *James Madison* arrived here from Buffalo on Monday forenoon last, literally crammed with passengers. She is to run regularly between Chicago and Buffalo, and according to advertisements is to be here again on 12th next month. She is the largest vessel on the lakes, measur-

ing 181 feet in length on deck, 30 feet breadth of beam, 12½ feet depth of hold and carries 700 tons. Her entire cost was about \$75,000.

The *Madison* belongs to the New York & Ohio Line, Kinzie, Hunter & Co., Agents.

Daily Chicago *American*, June 3, 1837.

Captain John.

LOSS OF THE STEAM BOAT *KENT*

Last week we published from rumor, an account of the loss of the Canadian steam-boat *Kent*. This account, though not entirely correct, comes nearer to correctness than rumors usually do. The *Kent* was going up instead of down, and the location of the accident would have been more properly described by saying it was below Point-au-Pellee (sic), than above Long Point. It does not appear that she sank immediately; and it is hoped that the loss of life is not so great as was stated.

All the officers and hands of the boat, and 79 passengers, including ten children, were saved; but the following persons, and it is feared some more, were lost.

Rev. James E. Quaw, Bedford, Michigan.

Mr. Chauncey Osborn, Genesee, N. Y.

Mr. Seth Deming, Berlin, Conn.

Master Bruce Deming, Galena, W. T.

James Loudon, Ypsilanti, Michigan.

Two young ladies and a boy, from near

Ypsilanti, names not known.

A letter from some person on board the *London*, to the editor of the Detroit *Advertiser*, states that the *London* remained for five hours with the wreck of the *Kent*, saving what it could, and after an unsuccessful attempt to tow the hull ashore, hoisted her flag at half-mast, and left her in a sinking condition, to her fate. She finally sunk in about ten fathoms of water, about ten miles from shore. Many persons were transferred from the *Kent* to the *London*, with nothing on but their night-clothes, and had to be provided with clothing and money by persons on board the *London*.

The lights of the *Kent* were seen on board the *London* when about six miles distant; and the accident is attributed to her sheering in the wrong direction, in consequence of which the bow of the *London* struck her in front of the wheel house.

We do not believe there should be great blame attached to the officers of these boats, and of all other boats, which come in collision in calm weather on Lake Erie. From information, as well as from our own obser-

vation, we are satisfied that a very improper *spirit* exists among men on board of steam-boats. They seem to think there is disgrace in deviating from their course to avoid collision, and that bravado, by which an approaching boat is driven out of her course, is something meritorious.

We call it infamous. It is worse than the conduct of an unmannerly blockhead driving a heavy team, who will not give a part of the road to a light carriage; for the danger is greater, and the excuse less.

Several years ago, we were on board of one of our lake boats, when another boat came into view. From the course both were steering, it was apparent that unless one or the other varied from its course, a collision must take place. We were near the wheel-man, when a man, and who spoke with authority, whom we took to be the mate, came and directed him to *keep his course*. When within about fifty yards, the other boat changed its course. After she had passed, the other man, whom we took to be the mate, and who had remained near the wheel-man, looking back, exclaimed with a smile — though it appeared to us a kind of fiendish smile — “A pretty straight wake!” Had there been just such a course pursued on the other boat as was pursued on ours, a collision would have taken place, and many lives might have been sacrificed to this churlish spirit. The other boat was supposed to be the weakest.

Sandusky *Clarion*, Editorial

Friday, August 22, 1845.

Charles E. Frohman.

FROM THE CANADIAN SIDE

The new steamboat *Adelaide*, destined to ply between Chippewa and other ports upon Lake Erie on the Canada shore, arrived at Port Stanley on Sunday morning last, and left the same evening on her return. The steamboat is well furnished and fitted up.

St. Thomas, Ontario, *Liberal*
November 2, 1832.

To be sold at public auction, to the highest bidder, on the 20th inst. at Port Stanley, the sloop *Nelson*. The *Nelson* is in good repair; her rigging entirely new.

St. Thomas, Ontario, *Liberal*
July 11, 1833.

The lighthouse on Point a Pele has been completed and as soon as accepted by the Commissioners it will be lighted up.

Sandwich *Emigrant*, copied in St. Thomas,
Ontario, *Liberal*, October 10, 1833.

Fred Landon.

GREAT LAKES CALENDAR

By BERTRAM B. LEWIS

FEBRUARY, 1948

The 50-year-old fight for the St. Lawrence seaway met another setback when the United States Senate again turned down legislation calling for a \$720,000,000 expenditure by this country and Canada for the international waterway and power development. The proposal, opposition against which was led by Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, would have made the project self-liquidating through a system of toll charges. The opposition held that the proposal was "impractical and too costly." The seaway had been backed by every president since and including Woodrow Wilson.

FEBRUARY, 1948

Recognizing the importance of radar to Great Lakes navigation, the coast guard was preparing to place a new electronics device known as ramark (contraction of radar mark) at a strategic navigation point on the lakes. The device sent out a coded signal which identified itself and showed up on the ship's radar screen. The ramark was still in the experimental stage. The setting of larger can buoys, which made better radar targets, also was on the coast guard program.

MARCH, 1948

The 51-year-old freighter *S. B. Coolidge*, formerly the *Australia* of the Corrigan fleet, was to be broken up for scrap by the Bethlehem Steel Corporation of Buffalo. The ship, once chartered by the War Shipping Administration to the Gartland Steamship Company for use in the bulk trade, sailed at one time under the Hutchinson flag.

MARCH, 1948

The 444-foot steamer *S. H. Robbins* was sold by the Wilson Transit Co. of Cleveland to Richard E. Dwor of Port Colborne, Ontario. The *Robbins* was built in Lorain, Ohio in 1898 and had always sailed under the Wilson flag, carrying coal, iron ore and grain. She was named after the former president of the Youghioghenny & Ohio Coal Company.

MARCH, 1948

Great Lakes history was made when the coast guard icebreaker *Mackinaw* broke a path from the ice-enclosed harbor of Buffalo to lead twelve ore carriers out and give that port its earliest opening. The *Mackinaw* arrived at the harbor entrance at 6:30 a. m. on St. Patrick's Day, but it was noon before the ships had been assembled and on their way to ports on the south shore of Lake Erie where they would await the opening of navigation into the upper lakes. Another "first" was marked up in the operation when a helicopter dropped gently on a specially-built platform on the *Mackinaw* deck, while at Buffalo, for transfer to the Straits of Mackinac and Soo areas where such an aircraft would be used for scouting purposes for the first time in the history of lakes icebreaking. Freed from Buffalo by the cutter were the following freighters: *Hartwell*, *Frontenac*, *Pontiac*, *Emory L. Ford*, *William Crawford*, *Joseph Wood*, *Peter White*, *Cadillac*, *J. C. Miller*, *Thomas Walters*, *James Laughlin* and *B. F. Jones*.

APRIL, 1948

The Swedish freighter *Erland* brought 23,000 bags of coffee by way of the lakes to Chicago from Santos, Brazil. This was said to be the first shipment on record between these ports.

APRIL, 1948

The American Steamship Company, affiliated with Boland & Cornelius of Buffalo, bought the self-unloader *Col. E. M. Young* from the United Steamship Company, a subsidiary of the Tomlinson Fleet of Cleveland. Acquisition of the *Young* and conversion of the former freighter *Capt. John Roen* brought the number of self-unloaders owned by American to thirteen.

APRIL, 1948

The first iron ore was unloaded at the new \$18,500,000 coal and ore dock of the New York Central and Baltimore & Ohio railroads at Toledo from the steamer *J. C. Miller*. The facility, when operating at capacity, will handle twenty million tons of coal and four and a half million tons of iron ore a year.

APRIL, 1948

Cleveland was preparing to inaugurate its first direct freight service to South America by way of the lakes. The Swedish American Line announced that in July it would begin operation of the service, with three ships, to Colombia and Venezuela, with calls at La Guayra, Puerto Cabello and Barranquilla. Shipments from Cleveland were expected to include machinery, cement, paints, chemicals, dental supplies and canned fruits. On their import list would be coffee, nitrates, tin, sugar and timber. Efforts were being made to persuade the South American countries to establish consulates in Cleveland to pass on commercial documents.

MAY, 1948

For the first time in history a coast guard cable ship was assigned to work in the Great Lakes. The *Yamacraw* was to spend the rest of the lakes navigation season repairing and laying coast guard telephone and power cables.

MAY, 1948

Workers in Cleveland office buildings had grandstand seats for one of the city's most exciting waterfront spectacles in years. They saw three tugs of the Great Lakes Towing Company fight a winning battle to beach the barge *Magna* of the Hutchinson fleet after she had struck a breakwall at the harbor entrance in high seas kicked up by a 45-mile northwest wind. Waiting outside the harbor to be picked up by the steamer *Princeton*, the barge began to drift toward the wall. The *Princeton* finally arrived and with some difficulty managed to pick up the *Magna's* line, but when the steamer headed into the wind with her consort she was unable to make headway. Captain Charles Butler of the *Princeton* decided to try to get both ships to shelter in the harbor. The steamer, with the wind lashing against her 454-foot length from starboard, passed through the entrance safely, but the *Magna* struck the east outer breakwater wall, tearing a hole in her port side. Listing badly, and after a three-hour battle in which the tugs *Nebraska*, *California* and *Indiana* fought gallantly, the barge was beached near the municipal stadium as dry land sailors in their office perches gravely dipped into their vacuous storehouses of sailing knowledge to criticize the whole operation.

The Great Lakes in Niles' National Register

*C*ONTINUING publication of excerpts on the Great Lakes from the leading American news magazine issued from 1811 to 1849, we first complete a letter "from a very intelligent gentleman in Illinois territory, dated August 20, 1812," the first part of which appeared in the Spring issue of INLAND SEAS, page 61.

—The Editor.

"**F**ORT ST. JOSEPH is about 17 leagues from Mackinac, on an island in the north-west part of lake Huron, and at the lower end of lake George; here is also a small village. The village of Sault St. Mary's is on the Straits of St. Mary's, twelve leagues above St. Joseph's.

"The Grand Portage is on the north-west of lake Superior; on the western extremity of which is a village, called Fond du Lac Superior; at the former place there is generally assembled annually, in the months of May and June, about 1500 or 1600 British subjects, who are engaged in the Indian trade, and continue there till fall, when they again return to their wintering grounds. At this place are deposited the furs and peltries that are collected in the northwest; while goods from Montreal are deposited at Sault St. Mary's; and the British long since have had one, and I am informed now two vessels on lake Superior, engaged in transporting goods from the one place, and furs and peltries from the other.

"The whole of the British traders, and the major part, if not all, of our own, who have any intercourse with the Indians north of this territory, or within it, or on either side of the Mississippi, receive their supplies at Sault St. Mary's, St. Joseph's or Michilimackinac. But the trade is almost exclusively in the hands of British subjects, who have three different routes by which they transport their goods: the first is through lake Superior, and westwardly, northwestwardly, and northwardly; the second is through lake Michigan into Green Bay, thence up Fox River, down the Quisconsin, and up the Mississippi and its various branches; the third is through lake Michigan into Illinois river, and down it to its mouth. Many of those Indians may go to Malden and receive presents; but for trade their dependence is exclusively upon the places above mentioned.

"A trade which has contributed in part to the flourishing condition of Montreal; which entirely supports several intermediate villages between it and the residence of the savages; which employs such a multitude of persons, and justifies such vast expenditures as are known to be made on its account, must be of great value, and cannot fail to prove that the Indians, with whom it is carried on, are immensely numerous.

"If British subjects have influence on Indians with whom they have exclusive trade; if we have a right to suppose they would exercise that influence to our injury; and if it can be shown that the capture of Malden in itself cannot cut off their intercourse or trade with the savages from whom we have most to apprehend, then I contend that we ought not to rely on the capture of Malden for our security, and that it would produce no greater effect at the present time upon the Indians than a decisive victory on our part elsewhere.

"It is certain that only a few years ago the whole or the major part of the merchandize brought from Montreal to Michilimackinac, was brought by way of the Ottawas (by some called the Grand) river — it is navigated with canoes, carrying each seven thousand weight. From this river they go into lake Nipissing; thence down the French river to lake Huron; whence the goods are transported in large vessels to St. Joseph's, Mackinac, or Sault St. Mary's. By this route are carried all goods destined for Grand Portage, Nippigon, Fond du Lac, and all the wintering places on lake Superior. By this route a great quantity of goods were last year brought to St. Joseph's, whence they were smuggled into this country by merchants at St. Louis, as well as by the celebrated Dickson and others. I have received this information from authority that cannot be questioned. It is true, the route by the Ottawas is a difficult one; but it can be performed in a much shorter time than that by Detroit. And neither the capture of Malden, Fort Erie, Navy Hall, or any other British station between Montreal and Detroit, could prevent this navigation; they may lead to consequences that may eventually effect it; but prudence requires that we should not prematurely anticipate them.

"Not long since I saw a letter from some person in Detroit, published, which stated, that no goods had passed there since last September. From this, calculations were made that the Indians could not receive their supplies at St. Joseph's. But with myself, it only confirmed the information which I had previously acquired, that goods were carried to that place by the Ottawas river. And I am convinced the Indians have received all the

supplies that are usually distributed to them in this season of the year. And if so, we have just cause to apprehend present danger from them, whether the capture of Malden would or would not eventually cut off their trade with the British. If the trade and the war continue, we cannot doubt that their united influence on the Indians will produce hostile aggressions. If the trade be completely interrupted, the great body of men whom I have mentioned, as being engaged in it, must of course be thrown out of employment, and must return from necessity to Sault St. Mary's or St. Joseph's, when numbers of Indians will follow them for if traders are prevented from going amongst those Indians, who, from habit, have become dependent on trade, as many of them as can will certainly go to the traders; and from this hopeful assemblage, we can expect nothing less than the most bloody warfare, until they are made to feel the necessity of submission.

"I have learnt that Mackinac is taken; and I think it a probable event; that this was contemplated before the declaration of war I have no doubt. On the first of May last, two Indians were apprehended at Chicago, who were on their way to meet Mr. Dickson at Green Bay; they had taken the precaution to put their letters in their mockasins, and bury them in the ground; and nothing being found on them, were permitted to proceed. A Mr. Frazier, from Prairie du Chien, who went with Dickson to the Portage of Quisconsin, and who was present when the letters were received, states that Dickson was informed by them that he might expect to see the British flag flying on the American garrison of Michilimackinac. I also discover that John Askin was concerned in the capture of that fort, which increases the probability of it, as you will perceive by recurring to my late communications, that Cadot Dice and John Askin were collecting the Indians at Fond du Lac Superior, and at Matchidas on lake Huron, for hostile purposes. Convenient to this quarter we have a greater number of Indians whom we have a right to believe hostile, than threatens any other frontier. And as they can attack us with the greatest facility, and with the prospect of doing the most injury with the least danger to themselves, we have certainly much to apprehend from them if Mackinac be actually taken. Residing as they do at least seven or eight hundred miles at least from Malden, there can be very little danger of their uniting with the British against general Hull's army; the difficulty of obtaining provisions on their march, and the exposed situation in which they would leave their women and children and their villages, together

with the superior inducement to attack this quarter, will be decisive in preventing their going to Canada. This is not mere speculation; for I am authorized to say, from a communication I read yesterday, that the Indians about Peoria have from such apprehensions positively refused to accept an invitation to join the British at Malden. From all the information I can collect, the Indians everywhere appear to be united. The Chippeways are very numerous, and principally reside on the south side of lake Superior, and a very large proportion of them are convenient to the head of Quiconsin river.

"There are on the river St. Peters and its branches, 1919 lodges of Sioux as I am informed by a man of veracity who has resided thirty-one years with them: allowing three men to each lodge (a very moderate calculation) they amount to 5757. On the river des Moines, which enters the Mississippi 80 leagues above St. Louis, the Iowas and some bands of Sioux reside.

"The Sacs and Foxes who live on the Mississippi, amount to 400 at least. The Kickapoos, Miamies, Pottawattamies, Ottawas and Chippeways, of the Illinois river and its branches, amount to about 500. There are others between lake Michigan and the Mississippi, including Folles Avouines; of whose number I have no particular information.

"The Osages cannot amount to less than 1200. The Shawanese and Delawares west of the Mississippi, I suppose must amount to 400. The Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks and some Cataubas, who have lately settled on White river in Missouri territory, within four or five days' journey of St. Genevieve, I have reason to believe amount to about 1000. I do not pretend to believe that the whole of those Indians will unite at one and the same time to attack us, but this I saw without fear of contradiction, that, taking them in the aggregate, we have as much reason to believe they make a part of the hostile confederacy as any other. And if they are so disposed they can with more facility commit hostilities upon the settlements of the Mississippi than upon any others."

October 17, 1812, vol. 3, p. 105

NOTES

Fairport On The Job

THE FAIRPORT, OHIO, Historical Society held its annual meeting at the Congregational Church on June 30, 1948, dinner being served. The speaker of the evening was Clarence S. Metcalf, executive vice-president of the Great Lakes Historical Society, who gave a historical paper on *The Great Lakes*. Martin A. Tuttle, a Fairport attorney, talked informally on the early days of the community, emphasizing the ghost days that befell it before modern industry brought an era of revival.

The Fairport Society, which has taken over the old lighthouse for a museum, housing shipping relics, sailing antiques, mementoes and documents,¹ has had a successful year. A notable gift was that of a Sperry gyroscope, donated by the M. A. Hanna Company of Cleveland. The Lake County Board of Commissioners also gave \$500 to help bring about the many improvements which Mrs. Lillian Luthanen Robinson, the moving spirit, has in mind for both Society and museum.

1. See INLAND SEAS, vol. 1, January, 1945, p. 48.

R. N. Rice Again

TO THE STORY of the *R. N. Rice*¹ may be added one episode. According to Mansfield's *History of the Great Lakes*,² she collided with the schooner *E. M. Carington* near Cleveland. The damage does not appear to have been great to the *Rice*,

at least, for she was still in service on June 10, 1877, when a fire necessitated her alteration into a lumber barge. No mention of the incident can be found in the Cleveland newspapers of the time.

1. INLAND SEAS, Spring 1948, pp. 29-32.

2. Ibid, vol. I, p. 732.

Father Gabriel Richard¹

DETROIT, by proclamation of Mayor Eugene I. Van Antwerp, celebrated the week of June 6-12, 1948 in honor of Gabriel Richard, and June 7 as Gabriel Richard Day, in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of his arrival in Detroit.

Historians know about Father Richard, but not many laymen, certainly not many outside of Detroit. Born in France on October 15, 1767, he was ordained a Sulpician priest, and fled to Baltimore at the outbreak of the French Revolution. Assigned by Bishop John Carroll to work with the French, halfbreeds and Indians, he had charge of the lakes area.

When Detroit was burned in 1805, he led in relief work. He published the first newspaper issued in the city, *Essai du Michigan ou Observateur Impartial* (the

first and perhaps only number appeared on August 31, 1809). Not only did he teach the Indians the elements of religion and of French, preparing text-books for this purpose, but he imported carding machines, spinning wheels and looms to build up the infant industries of this primitive community. Refusing to take an oath to the English King during the War of 1812, he was held as a prisoner of war by General Brock until the redoubtable Tecumseh himself demanded his release.

One of the founders of the University of Michigan, he was also for a single term a territorial delegate to Congress, perhaps the only time that a priest has been elected to our national legislature. He died on September 13, 1832 of an attack of cholera, contracted while ministering to the diseased.

1. See Detroit Historical Society Bulletin for June 1948, vol. IV, no. 10. This whole number is devoted to Father Richard.

G. L. H. S. Annual Meeting

THE GREAT LAKES HISTORICAL SOCIETY's annual meeting took place in the Great Lakes dining-room of the Cleveland Public Library, June 4, 1948, with Clarence S. Metcalf, Executive Vice-President, presiding.

After dinner Lawrence A. Pomeroy, Chairman of the Picture Committee, showed prints given to the Society by Bernard Vixseboxse.

The business meeting began with a report of the nominating committee, consisting of Milton N. Gallup, Chairman; Wallace Baker and Donald L. Harbaugh.

They proposed the following choices: President, Alva Bradley; Executive Vice-President, Clarence S. Metcalf; Managing Editor, Donna L. Root; Secretary, Lawrence A. Pomeroy; Treasurer, Leo P. Johnson. Nominations were approved unanimously.

Attention was called to some interesting old drawings and reprints placed on display in the adjoining room by the American Shipbuilding Company.

The meeting closed with a display of slides illustrating the history of the Cleveland Yacht Club, with some attention to other yacht clubs in the vicinity.

Proposed Great Lakes Museum

THE U.S.S. *Sable* formerly operated as the *Greater Buffalo* by the Detroit & Cleveland Navigation Company, is no more. She has been sold to the H. H. Buncher Company of Pittsburgh, and is to be scrapped.

In an effort to save her, Clarence S. Metcalf, executive vice-president of the Great Lakes Historical Society, had an interesting idea. He wrote to Congressman Alvin F. Weichel of Sandusky, chairman of the House merchant marine committee, urging that the sale be cancelled. He proposed that it be set up as a Lakes shipping museum, in a concrete foundation near the Perry monument at Put-in-Bay, Lake Erie.

One reason for this step would be to preserve the south side of the monument from battering by the waves, which already have caused cracks to show in the base. The monument is now under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service, to whose authority Mr. Metcalf proposed to transfer the *Sable*.

In the sheltered area which the concrete foundation of the *Sable* would provide, he suggested that other ships of historic interest might be moored. Examples are: a replica of the *Griffin*, the first vessel to sail the Great Lakes and the subject of articles in earlier issues of *INLAND SEAS*;¹ the *Wolverine*, the first armored United States war ship, now rusting at Erie, Pennsylvania;² Commodore Perry's *Niagara*; a replica of one of the caravels in which Columbus discovered America (now rotting away in Chicago); an authentic old sailing ship; the U. S. S. submarine *Gar*, now in Cleveland; the *Taboma*, a Coast Guard cutter which saw service in

both world wars; with other types to be added.

The Great Lakes Historical Society might conceivably decide to make this its official headquarters, including the location of its museum, which could easily become a national museum of educational value comparable to Henry Ford's Greenfield Village.

Of the project the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* said editorially in its issue of June 23:

The proposal to turn the U. S. S. *Sable*, the former steamer *Greater Buffalo* converted to a training carrier during the war, into a museum of Great Lakes shipping should not be dropped just because of present impediments.

Clarence S. Metcalf, director of the Cleveland Public Library and executive vice-president of The Great Lakes Historical Society, put forth the suggestion in a letter to Representative Alvin F. Weichel of Ohio.

Metcalf, who realized a life-long dream when he brought the historical society into being a few years ago, proposed that the *Sable* be placed on a concrete foundation near the Commodore Perry monument on Put-in-Bay Island.

By publication of its excellent quarterly magazine, *INLAND SEAS*, the historical society has rescued much pertinent material on the Lakes from oblivion. It has revived an interest in the Lakes and contributed greatly to preserving the history of the area. Through the proposed museum the society could give tangible form to the great body of folklore and tradition that makes the Lakes one of

1. *A Possible Solution to the Mystery of the Griffin*, by Richard P. Tappenden, vol. 2, pp. 3-6. *The Griffon Again*, by Roy F. Fleming, v. 2, p. 62. *On Manitoulin Island*, by Wallace J. Baker, Sr., v. 3, pp. 211-217.
2. "Save the *Wolverine*!" by Captain R. W. England, v. 1, January, 1945, pp. 36-37. *The Wolverine Again*, by Donna L. Root, v. 1, April, 1945, pp. 46-47.

the most interesting areas on the North American continent.

Under terms of the Surplus Property Act, the Maritime Commission cannot donate the *Sable*. The National Park Service does not possess the funds to purchase it. Private means should be available, however, to establish such a unique museum, a focal point for all lovers of the inland seas.

Mr. Metcalf has invited suggestions as to a place to accomplish the project in a

letter to about a hundred persons who might be interested. Members of the Great Lakes Historical Society are urged to submit their views also. Though the *Sable* was proposed as the nucleus of the scheme and this has now become unavailable, it is not an indispensable feature. The project could be carried out in other form. Whether at Put-in-Bay or elsewhere, a Great Lakes museum is a highly desirable goal for the future.

Turret Ships on the Lakes

NO HISTORY of Canadian lake shipping would be complete without something about the so-called turret type freighters that came up from salt water and operated on the Lakes for years.

Most of the following information was given by Captain James B. Foote of the Foote Transit Company to The Collingwood *Enterprise-Bulletin* and reprinted in the Owen Sound *Sun-Times*.

Captain James B. Foote is now one of the pioneers in Great Lakes shipping circles. His father was Captain James F. Foote, who was first master of the C.P.R. steamer *Athabasca* in 1884 when that fine steamer first came to the Upper Lakes from the shipyards on the Clyde. Now in 1946, the same *Athabasca*, stripped of her finery and almost everything else, is being made ready to leave the Lakes by way of the Chicago drainage canal and the Mississippi for the Florida coast.

One of his uncles was Captain Robert D. Foote, who sailed every steamer of the Northern Navigation Company and its predecessor from the little wooden *Atlantic* to the big five-decker *Noronic*.

Captain James B. Foote, after leaving school in Owen Sound, shipped on the old

Rosedale, and after several years on early Canadian steamers, was one of the many Canadians who sailed on the American side. He came back to Canada to become manager of the Algoma Central Steamship Lines and went to England to purchase tonnage for that company. Old-timers will remember the *Monksbaven*, *Paliki*, *Leafield*, and *Theano*.

Now Captain Foote manages his own steamer, the *F. V. Massey*, and is never too busy to answer a letter of inquiry regarding marine history.

Captain Foote tells that the turrets were built by William Doxford and Sons of Sunderland, England, for William Peterson Limited.

They were of a special type in that from about the waterline the ship's superstructure tumbled home to the main deck on which the hatches and cabin deck-houses were located. The object in building this type of ship was to cut down on the gross tonnage and still carry a full capacity load, particularly such as coal and iron ore. Ship's tonnage dues through the Suez Canal and into and out of most ports were charged on the basis of gross registered tonnage and by building the

Turret type gross tonnage was greatly reduced and lesser dues paid. These ships were built in the early 1890's, and Peterson brought them to Canada on a contract to carry coal from Sydney to Montreal.

When this contract expired, it was taken over by other ships such as the Norwegian *Storstadt* which rammed and sank the *Empress of Britain*.

The Turret boats were *Turret Chief*, *Turret Court*, *Turret Cape*, *Turret Crown*, *Turret Bell*, *Turret Bay* and the *Scottish Hero*. They were all bought from Peterson by a new company known as the Canadian Lake and Ocean Navigation Co., which was closely affiliated with MacKenzie-Mann and the Canadian Northern Railway.

Both the *Turret Bell* and *Turret Bay* were wrecked in the Gulf of St. Lawrence but the other five were brought to the lakes and operated here for years.

After operating for years, the *Turret Court*'s engines and boiler were removed and she was used as a lighter around Montreal harbor and finally sold for scrap and broken up at Hamilton.

The *Turret Crown*, after lying idle for several seasons, was purchased by Captain W. C. Jordan of Collingwood and lost on Manitoulin Island November 2, 1924. The wreck was cut down piece-meal by a salvage company.

The *Turret Chief* wrecked on Keeweenaw Point in the great storm of 1913; was salvaged and sent back to salt water where she carried guns from Britain to Archangel during the First Great War. After the war she was returned to the Lakes where she operated under the somewhat piratical

name of *Jolly Inez*. She was wrecked near Detour, salvaged and turned into a lighter and finally foundered on Lake Michigan.

The *Turret Cape* operated on the Lakes as a steamer for years. Her engines were removed and she was purchased by the Robin Hood Flour Mills, Limited, and used as a tow barge and storage warehouse. About 1940 she was sold to a company who took her to Montreal and, after extensive repairs, a new Diesel engine was installed and she was sent off to salt water to engage in the bauxite trade. She is probably still afloat.

The *Scottish Hero* was the big boy of the fleet. She operated in the Gulf until 1907 when she was cut in two at Levis, Quebec, and brought to the Lakes where she operated for ten years. In 1917 she was cut in two at Ashtabula and sent in two sections to Montreal where she was put together again and loaded for Great Britain but the cargo went to the bottom of the Atlantic — as a German submarine "got" her on the first trip.

The *Turrets* have gone from the Lakes but in their day they had a place. They were not noted for beauty and they were not so popular with the sailors as their accommodation was not good, but hundreds of Canada's lake seamen got an early training on these ships under such well-known captains as Archie McIntyre, "Bay" Stephens, Jim Foote (now of "Canadoc"), R. D. "Dickie" Simpson, Peter McIntyre, Malcolm McPhee, W. C. Jordon, and others.

—W. RUSSELL BROWN
In the Port Arthur News,
April 27, 1946

The Great Lakes in Print

An Index to magazine articles and notes on the Great Lakes which have appeared in current periodicals not exclusively devoted to the lakes.

The American Neptune, April, 1948, (1) pp. 91-98. An Early Description of Birch-Bark Canoes, by Ferdinand E. Chard. (2) pp. 132-149. Early Great Lakes teamboats: Warships and Iron Hulls, 1841-1846, by H. A. Musham.

American Swedish Monthly, February, 1948, pp. 6-7, 31. Swedish Ocean-going Vessels in Traffic to Great Lakes Ports, by Karin Farnstrom.

Geographical Review, January, 1948, pp. 113-119. The Influence of the Frontier on Niagara Settlements, by J. W. Watson.

April, 1948, pp. 194-205. The Coal Trade of the Great Lakes and the Port of Toledo, by Albert G. Ballert.

Mid-America, an historical review, April, 1948, pp. 75-104. The Genesis and Building of Detroit, by Jean Delanglez.

Michigan History, December, 1947, pp. 417-430. The Truth about the Kensington Stone, by Hjalmar R. Holand.

Motor Boating, February, 1948, pp. 24-7, 80; March, 1948, pp. 36-39, 90; April, 1948, pp. 54-57, 94. A Cruise to Georgian Bay, by Robert G. Myers.

This Month's Contributors

R. A. BROTHERTON of Negaunee, Michigan, is a frequent contributor to INLAND SEAS.

REV. EDWARD J. DOWLING, S.J., of Detroit, is now editing the Detroit Marine Historical Society's bulletin, the *Detroit Marine Historian*.

HYMAN HOROWITZ is a Cleveland attorney, editor of the *Jewish World* who writes feature articles for the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* on Palestine and the Middle East.

GILBERT R. JOHNSON is General Counsel for the Lake Carriers Association. Part of *United States-Canadian Treaties* appeared in INLAND SEAS, vol. 3, no. 4, October 1947, pp. 203-207.

ROWLEY MURPHY is a Toronto marine artist of note, greatly interested in lakes history.

GEORGE A. WATERBURY was Chief Engineer on many ships during his long career on the lakes.

MENTOR L. WILLIAMS, assistant professor of English at Illinois Institute of Technology, contributes the third article in his series on Horace Greeley on the Great Lakes.

Among the book reviewers: A. O. H. is Agnes O. Hansen of the Business Information Bureau; and J. C. S. is Janet Coe Sanborn of the History Division. Both are staff members of the Cleveland Public Library.



Book Reviews



MICHIGAN: FROM PRIMITIVE WILDERNESS TO INDUSTRIAL COMMONWEALTH, by Milo M. Quaife and Sidney Glazer. New York, Prentice-Hall, 1948. \$5.35.

It has been only a little over three centuries since white men first set foot on Michigan soil and those trail blazers of early civilization, the Jesuits, wrote the prelude to Michigan history. Important to geologists, 2000 million years were needed to create the soil and the last ice cap left about 3500 years ago, but the most distinctive features Michigan can claim are a water area approximately equal to two-thirds of her land area, a 2300 mile coastline, longer than that of any other state, and a land area divided into two main segments by a broad body of water.

The Great Lakes enclose and also separate the Upper and Lower Peninsulas, making water transportation available for the entire state. The hostile Iroquois kept the Lower Lakes region from the French until 1669, when Joliet rescued an Iroquois prisoner who guided him home by the Lower Lakes. In 1671 the Pageant of the Sault gave the French formal possession of the Great Lakes, which they held until 1761. Soon the territory was swept into the Revolutionary War in which there was little vital concern, the region having been conquered so recently by the English.

From a territory the next development, quite naturally, was in the direction of statehood. Passing through a transitional period of State de facto, Michigan, in 1835, became a State in the Union.

Thus Dr. Quaife, a famous writer on the Great Lakes, brings to a close his part in the authorship of this colorful history of a state which can attribute much of her greatness to her position on the Inland Seas.

The second half of this volume, written by Sidney Glazer, assistant professor of history at Wayne University, sets forth the growing pains of Michigan as a developing commonwealth. The lumbering business reflected great industrial activity in the post-Civil War era. The trans-

portation problem of mining interests especially was partly solved by the construction of the Sault Canal, linking Lake Superior to Lake Michigan. Also farming was becoming big business, all of which helped expand an awakened civic consciousness. Republican rule after the Civil War and later political uncertainty took the shape of reform in a new State Constitution.

Those persons who gave direction to this region by their inspiration and tireless endeavor have not been overshadowed in this rehearsal of events. Rather have the authors taken much care to give ample coverage to both pioneer and contemporary men and women who have helped make Michigan a great state.

Around the turn of the century the motor age and extensive highway construction combined to place Michigan in the undisputed center of the automotive industry, where methods of large-scale production and organized labor have come to serve as models in the industrialization of the Mid-West.

Michigan went through the throes of religious and educational progress, the depression, and because of her high industrialization, recovery stimulated by the beginning of national defense activities. Like all other states Michigan has gone through the war and through post-war adjustments and reconversion. But ahead, the author hopefully sees an era of economic and social progress for this state whose romantic past and unique geographical location have given her such a rich heritage.

—J. C. S.

SHIPS OF THE U. S. MERCHANT MARINE, by S. Kip Farrington, Jr. New York, E. P. Dutton, 1947. \$3.75.

This is an interesting and attractive narrative of our merchant fleet engaged in its triple activities — trade, travel and defense. The volume is made up of short sections, each one presenting one of the shipping lines in our new Merchant Marine service. For each line it shows a representative ship, reproduced from a full-color oil painting done expressly for the book by Jack Coggins, noted marine illustrator. Stack markings and house flags are also shown in color. There are black and white line drawings of many added ship types, including the square-rigged clipper ships remembered by mariners of an earlier day.

The text indicates passenger and cargo accommodations, its war service, the ports and nations which its ships visit. These fleets bring the profits of export and import trade to thousands of businesses, and keep farms and factories occupied in growing crops and making goods which other countries need. Parts of the world with potentialities for trade development are indicated. Among a few of the cargoes mentioned, in addition to passengers, are wheat, machinery and manufactured goods, a great deal of which is carried by our inland seas to ports of seagoing trade, fuel oil, asphalt and molasses carried in tankers, sugar, fruits and vegetables from Central America and Cuba, wine from Portugal and the Madeiras, Black Sea caviar, bauxite, rubber, copper, hides, and wool from South America, silk and tea from China, pepper and spices from Sumatra, hemp from the Philippines.

Since 1937, S. Kip Farrington, Jr., the author, has been Salt Water Editor of *Field and Stream*. He is a salt-water fisherman of note, an authority on railroads, and was a member of the committee that designed the emergency fishing equipment adopted by the United States Armed Forces. He has engaged in sea-going voyages on American ships to ports throughout the world and observed, at close hand, the Merchant Marine, which, in the words of Admiral Nimitz's introduction, is "a subject which it is perilous to neglect and a matter of pride to remember." Its ships are the best equipped in the world, and the men who sail them are the best paid.

The end papers of this book are: a map of essential United States foreign trade routes, and a profile diagram of a C-2 cargo ship.

—A. O. H.



THE GREAT LAKES HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Its objectives are to:

Promote interest in discovering and preserving material on the Great Lakes and the Great Lakes area of the United States and Canada, such as books, documents, records and objects relating to the history, geography, geology, commerce and folklore of the Great Lakes.

Centralize information regarding such collections through the co-operative efforts of local historical societies and libraries throughout this area.

Sponsor an inclusive bibliography or finding list of materials on Great Lakes history and historical material scattered over the entire area and to be found in public, private and college libraries, in historical societies and religious institutions of the United States and Canada.

Publish *INLAND SEAS*, a quarterly bulletin containing articles and memoranda pertinent to the interests of The Great Lakes Historical Society and those interested in the history and commerce of the Great Lakes.

The Great Lakes area is the richest in the world, with a fascinating and romantic history. The Society is working for public appreciation of the courage, enterprise and sacrifice of our people who built up this great region and for permanent preservation of its history.

Annual membership fees of the Society are used for the publication of *INLAND SEAS*, for costs of preparation of the Lakes bibliography, and for any other projects approved by the Board of Trustees.

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